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COVER

The "Antoine Le Claire," Iowa's first locomotive, was put into service on the Mississippi and Missouri Rail Road at Davenport, July 19, 1855. Picture courtesy Rock Island Lines.

MAPS

The maps on pages 13 and 59 were especially designed for the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY by Richard Spencer of the department of journalism of the State University of Iowa.

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IOWA'S FIRST RAILROAD

By Dwight L. Agnew

One January day in 1855 the regular stage jolted its way from Muscatine to Davenport. From the swaying coach the editor of the Muscatine *Journal* observed a crowd of laborers throwing up an embankment for a railroad. With shovels busy, they were cutting through the hills and hauling earth to fills. From Muscatine to Davenport the rich land was already being settled. Prospects for the country were excellent, business was already there for the railroad, and the railroad would bring more business. The editor saw all this, and for more personal reasons he eagerly anticipated the passing of stagecoach transportation. On the return trip to Muscatine his experiences furnished him with what he called "a breakneck argument in favor of the early completion of the Railroad."

> We were in one of two full coaches that left Davenport about 7 o'clock of a night, cloudy, foggy, and as dark as Egypt. The horses steamed so that the drivers could not see and the ground was extremely slippery. The drivers were very careful, drove in a walk most of the time, and stopping frequently, sent a light ahead to examine the road. We met a wagon load of pork in a ditch, which our coaches narrowly escaped, and the shouting in the dark backwards and forwards, was not only animating, but foreboding of harm to ourselves. We were three hours in going six miles. At last our coach, the hindmost, slipped on a sidling place, and just then striking a bridge was whirled from it, turning a summerset, and striking on its top on the ground, about three feet below, and the top of the coach describing a circular movement of ten or fifteen feet. One got a bloody gash in his head another his collar bone broken and torn loose from his shoulder blade, and Judge Grant was severely injured in the shoulder, some of the muscles being probably jerked from their sockets. Another was got out raving like a maniac, ignorant of whence he came from or whither he was going, or the name of his friend. A German named Hetzell was kind enough to take care of the wounded. Dr. Fountain, a skillful physician, of Davenport, attended to the wants of the invalids.[1]

[1] Davenport *Gazette*, January 17, 1855.

This experience was not unique in the annals of stagecoaching. The discomforts of land travel in the days before railroads are well known. Of course the railroad would not solve all transportation problems, but it would help. Iowans had been thinking about railroads for a good many years. As far back as 1836, John Plumbe, Jr., of Dubuque, talked about a railroad to Oregon. About the middle of the century dreams began to take form in projects and charters, some of which later materialized into rails and locomotives and cars.

Iowa had certain advantages. A rich soil beckoned a population whose produce and industry demanded railroads. The early prominence of Chicago insured early railroad building across the upper Mississippi and the inclusion of routes through Iowa in schemes for transcontinental lines.[2]

In accordance with the constitution of 1846 which provided that corporations, other than for political or municipal purposes, should be provided for in general laws, Iowa's First General Assembly had passed an act permitting any number of persons to incorporate themselves for the establishment of ferries, construction of railroads, and "other works of internal improvement." The constitution forbade the state to be a stockholder in any such corporation, but Iowa was not slow in calling on the national government for aid to railroads. In the extra session of the First General Assembly (1848) "memorials and joint resolutions were adopted praying Congress to grant lands to aid in the construction of certain railroads. These were the first of a series of some twenty-five joint resolutions and memorials which were sent to Congress praying for land grants to aid in the construction of railroads in Iowa."[3] In these early years of railroad building, state legislation looked to the encouragement of any and all projects except those in which the state itself might be involved. Counties and municipalities were permitted to bond themselves for the encouragement of railroad companies.[4]

The Mississippi and Missouri Railroad Company, familiarly known as the M & M, was formed by articles of association in December, 1852. Notarized by John F. Dillon, these articles were filed in the office of the Scott

[2] Robert E. Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads* (New York, 1926), 27.

[3] Ivan L. Pollock, *History of Economic Legislation in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1918), 35, 36-7.

[4] Iowa City *Daily Iowa State Press*, March 13, 1901; *History of Johnson County, Iowa . . .* (Iowa City, 1883), 237–42; Clarence Ray Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, 1912), 1:218–23.

County Recorder on January 26, 1853.[5] In May, 1853, meetings were held to organize the company. The board of directors was elected on May 28. Most of the officers were elected on May 30, but the president and vice-president were elected on the following day.[6]

The M & M was to become a part of the Rock Island system, the beginning of which was the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad already under construction. The latter had been chartered in 1851. Late in that year construction was started and in October, 1852, when the M & M was being organized, the Chicago and Rock Island had reached La Salle, Illinois, and construction was under way for the remainder of the line to Rock Island, a point reached by rail in February, 1854.

Promoters of the M & M planned to build their lines in three directions from Davenport — straight west through Iowa City, southwest, and northwest. It was obvious of course that the rails could not be laid in all three directions at once. Much rivalry developed, particularly between Iowa City and Muscatine, over the question of what direction the road was to take out of Rock Island. Muscatine, Washington, and Oskaloosa wanted the route to follow the east bank of the Mississippi and cross at Muscatine. Iowa City and Davenport would have the road cross at Davenport and proceed directly to Iowa City. The newspapers of the various cities entered the fray with vigor. W. Penn Clarke and LeGrand Byington of Iowa City were authorized by the city council to subscribe to stock in the company in the name of the city and to cast votes as representing stockholders, provided that Iowa City was made a point on the road.[7]

The matter of routing was settled at a conference in Davenport. An early history of Johnson County declares that at the last meeting of the board of directors of the Davenport and Iowa City Railroad, held on the eve of the

[5] *Second Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners . . . 1879*, 88. A record was filed with the Secretary of State of Iowa on February 1, 1853.

[6] Concerning dates of association and organization there is considerable confusion. One company history, George H. Crosby, *History of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company* (Chicago, 1904), gives the date of association as February 22, 1852; another company history, Frank J. Nevins, "Seventy Years of Service . . .," *Rock Island Magazine*, 17:9 (October, 1922), gives the date as February 22, 1853; still another (that appearing in the *Report of Iowa Railroad Commissioners . . . 1879*, 88) gives December 22, 1852; Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present . . .* (Davenport, 1858), 109, gives January 1, 1853. There is equal difference of opinion as to date and place of organization.

[7] Iowa City *Daily Iowa State Press*, March 13, 1901.

Davenport meeting, a transfer of "all the rights, privileges, benefits, franchises, etc.," was made to the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad Company, provided the road was routed through Iowa City. The directors dispatched Dr. Henry Murray to Davenport with the proceedings of the Iowa City meeting in his pocket. After an all night ride he arrived in time to lay before the M & M directors Iowa City's proposition.[8] Whatever may have been Dr. Murray's influence, final plans called for a main line by way of Iowa City and a branch line to Muscatine. Celebrating the triumph of Davenport, a cartoon of the time represented the Muscatine supporters astride a bull and a jackass confronting on the track an engine representing the Davenport and Iowa City project.[9] Boys of Davenport sang on the streets a little ditty to this effect:

> Our friends of Muscatine,
> With bull and jackass,
> Can't esteem
> The beauties of a railroad train.[10]

An examination of the list of officers and directors of the M & M reveals that the new company was made up largely of men already deeply involved in the Chicago and Rock Island and in the Peoria and Bureau Valley railroads of Illinois. The secretary was John E. Henry of Iowa, at the time of his election superintendent of the Chicago and Rock Island. A. C. Flagg was treasurer of both companies. Norman B. Judd, counsel for the Rock Island and the Bureau Valley roads, was named solicitor of the

[8] *History of Johnson County . . .*, 237. Accounts of the meetings of the Davenport and Iowa City board are somewhat contradictory. H. W. Lathrop, in an article in the Iowa City *Daily Iowa State Press* for March 13, 1901, says: "Work had progressed so far from Chicago westward that on the 20th day of May 1853, a special meeting of the Iowa City council was held, and W. Penn Clarke and Legrand Byington were sent as delegates to Chicago to attend a meeting called to organize the Mississippi and Missouri Rail Road Company to represent Iowa City in that meeting, and in the name of the city to subscribe stock in the company, payable in bonds of the city, to be issued by the city council, and in the case a company is formed and stock subscribed to cast the stock votes in the meetings of said company in the name of the city, provided Iowa City is made a point on said road. On the same day a meeting of the directors of the D. & I. C. R. R. Co. was held, and Mr. Byington was authorized to sell and transfer to such company when organized, all the property rights and franchises of the Davenport and Iowa City Rail Road Company provided that Iowa City be made a point on their road."

[9] A copy of the cartoon is in the possession of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

[10] Charles H. Dibbern, "An Interesting Reflection on Pioneer Days," *Rock Island Magazine*, 20:45 (December, 1925).

new concern. Henry Farnam, president of the Chicago and Rock Island, became the chief engineer, and John B. Jervis, a former president of the Chicago and Rock Island, was made consulting engineer. The president was John A. Dix, a prominent political figure from New York, expected to be of service in securing a land grant and in promoting a Pacific railroad bill. The vice-president, William B. Ogden, was already involved in railroad lines which were to become part of the Chicago and North Western system. In addition to some already named, the directors included William Walcott of New York, Joseph E. Sheffield, Ebenezer Cook of the banking firm of Cook and Sargent, Davenport, and Thomas C. Durant of New York. Durant was to become more and more prominent in the councils of the group which controlled the Rock Island, Bureau Valley, M & M, and the Mississippi bridge.[11] He had been associated with Farnam as a contractor in building the Peoria and Bureau Valley road. As Sheffield withdrew from active participation in the affairs of the group, Durant took over the New York office and handled the negotiation of securities.

Capital stock was fixed at $6,000,000 with shares of $100 each. A 5 per cent subscription was to be paid down, the remainder in installments at intervals of not less than three months. The debt limit was fixed at $4,000,000.[12]

While the promoters of the M & M were deliberating on a choice of officers, surveys were already under way. Haste in beginning the surveys was occasioned by the appearance of a rival project which planned to employ almost the same route to the Missouri. Crews were already laying out a line from Lyons on the Mississippi River to Iowa City and thence west. This Lyons Iowa Central project apparently had excellent chances of success.[13]

Beginnings of surveys for the M & M involved two men whose careers are especially worthy of mention — Peter A. Dey and Grenville M. Dodge.[14] Dey, easterner by birth, had gradually drifted west with western

[11] For the story of the building of the first bridge across the Mississippi, see Dwight L. Agnew, "Jefferson Davis and the Rock Island Bridge," Iowa Journal of History, 47:3–14 (January, 1949).

[12] Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present . . .*, 109-110.

[13] Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History*, 1:211; Ruth Irish Preston, "The Lyons and Iowa Central Railroad," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 9:284–301 (January, 1910).

[14] Standard biographies are: Jack T. Johnson, *Peter Anthony Dey: Integrity in*

enterprises on which he was employed as an engineer. He was first associated with Farnam and Sheffield on the Michigan Southern and Indiana Northern projects. Later he became assistant to William Jervis, chief engineer of the Chicago and Rock Island, by whom he was assigned to a division whose headquarters were at Tiskilwa, west of Peru. Assisting him on the Rock Island and on the Peoria branch was young Grenville M. Dodge. "Very soon," said Dey, "I discovered that there was a great deal in him. I discovered a wonderful energy; — for instance, if I told him to do anything he did it under any and all circumstances."[15]

In the spring of 1853, Dey was told to leave his job on the Rock Island and commence surveys in Iowa. With his principal assistant, Grenville Dodge, he crossed the Mississippi River on May 17, 1853, and started to lay out a preliminary line from Davenport to Iowa City. The Mississippi bridge had already been located, so that the initial point of the survey was determined. By May 26 a preliminary line had been run to Iowa City.[16]

Two months later Hiram Price, one of the original organizers of the M & M, set out along the proposed route from Iowa City to Davenport to interest Iowa pioneers in the M & M. Agents of the Lyons Iowa Central had been over the same road. Both enterprises hoped to persuade towns and counties to issue bonds in support of their respective roads and to arouse individuals to the point of subscribing to railroad stock. Price wrote:

> My special business was to see the people at their homes or at their places of business, and where practicable call public meetings at different points along the contemplated line of the road, and to so present the advantages to result from the construction of a railroad as to interest them in the enterprise. By agreement I was to continue in this work along the line of the proposed road for sixty days. My experience . . . was not such as to make me anxious to renew it.[17]

He found to his surprise and disgust that the people of western Iowa were not generally eager to see the first railroad. They seemed satisfied to rely

Public Service (Iowa City, 1939); J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails, and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (Indianapolis, 1929).

[15] Johnson, *Peter Anthony Dey . . .*, 59-60.

[16] *Ibid.*, 60.

[17] Hiram Price, "Recollections of Iowa Men and Affairs," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 1:6-7 (April, 1893). For a sketch of Hiram Price, see B. F. Gue, "The Public Services of Hiram Price," *ibid.*, 1:585–602 (January, 1895).

on the slow and uncertain transportation good enough for their fathers. "I could only account for these strange notions," said Price, "on the supposition that this class of persons had read and were in sympathy with the man described by Pollock in his 'Course of Time,'

> 'Who thought the moon that nightly o'er him rolled
> No larger than his father's shield;
> Lived where his father lived, died where he died,
> Lived happy, died happy, and was saved.' "[18]

Hiram Price reminded Iowans that a railroad would raise the price of farm produce 50 or 100 per cent, but they refused to believe him. He recalled a meeting in Des Moines in the middle of August, held on the ground floor of the courthouse. Those who could find no room inside peered through the open windows.

> While I was making the best presentation of my case that I could truthfully do, and trying to persuade the people that a railroad to Des Moines would be a great benefit to all concerned, some man on the outside, who must have been a near relative of Ananias, crowded his way to the window, listened for a few moments, and then turning away said to those on the outside, "Oh! that is Judge Rice who is speaking, and he is the greatest liar in the State of Iowa." My name was not Rice and the title of Judge did not belong to me, but it answered the purpose of the anti-railroad men, and was a "good enough Morgan" for the time. This is a sample of the manner in which my mission was received in what is now the city of Des Moines, and a great railroad center for the State of Iowa and of the Northwest.[19]

In his letters to Henry Farnam from Des Moines, Price indicated some good reasons for the seeming apathy on the question of voting bonds for the M & M. For one thing, there was a strong feeling in favor of the Lyons road. "I signed the petition," they would say. "I said I would vote for it, before I heard of the Davenport road. . . ." But what Price terms "crazy and unreasonable people" may not have been so devoid of good sense after all. Price himself pointed out that the taxable property of the three counties lying between Des Moines and Iowa City (Iowa, Poweshiek, and Jasper) was only $80,000, and the distance across them was only seventy-

[18] Price, "Recollections of Iowa Men and Affairs," 7.

[19] *Ibid.*, 7-8.

eight miles.[20] And these counties had already pledged their support to the Lyons road.

At Kanesville (Council Bluffs) Hiram Price met with a slightly more encouraging reception. After making the best presentation of the case of which he was capable, he sat down, feeling

> . . . that the people of Council Bluffs did not think a railroad of much consequence, but rather an unjustifiable interference with the Divine plan, and therefore not to be encouraged because when the Supreme Architect finished the world He pronounced it good without a railroad.
>
> However . . . a gentleman in one of the back seats arose and broke the (to me) awful silence, in a speech not longer than a Lacedemonian letter. . . .
>
> "My friends, I have listened to this man's railroad speech, and while I am free to confess that I have grave doubts as to the practicability of the project, yet it may be wise to give it a fair trial, and *possibly* some day we may see the locomotive coming across these prairies head and tail up like a bedbug."[21]

Lack of faith in railroad enterprises was not confined to the people of western Iowa. Price recalled a Muscatine lawyer's claim that a railroad could not possibly carry grain and livestock on cars the great distance to the eastern market. "And flour," he said, "*cannot* be carried such a distance on a railroad without shaking the barrels to pieces, unless the barrels are strong and heavy as pork barrels, and that would be so expensive as to make it unprofitable."[22]

In spite of these discouraging receptions, surveyors were soon hard at work in the field. Grenville Dodge left Iowa City with his party on September 4, 1853. On the eve of his departure he wrote his father:

> Yesterday I started my lines west of Iowa City and tomorrow I leave for good. Today I bought a saddle horse for $125.00. I have one wagon for camp chests and provisions and one for stocks and baggage. We have in all, six horses and fourteen men, including the cook and the hunter. The season is late and we cannot look ahead without seeing hardships and exposures never experienced by any of us. The snows on the Missouri are unusually severe, nor can we expect to arrive before they come on.

[20] Henry W. Farnam, *Memoir of Henry Farnam* (New Haven, 1889), 52-3.

[21] Price, "Recollections of Iowa Men and Affairs," 8-9.

[22] *Ibid.*, 13.

> There is also a probability, after arriving at Fort Des Moines, of our locating several hundred miles in order to keep ahead of the so-called Lyons road which is nearly parallel with ours west of Iowa City. The projectors have no money, but they are pushing lines through the state and making a cry to get the counties to take stock. We have moneyed men to back us. My expenses reach $1,000 a month.[23]

The Lyons party left Iowa City three or four days ahead of Dodge, but somewhere between Iowa City and Council Bluffs the M & M party took the lead. At Des Moines, Dodge selected forty acres for depot grounds. His party reached the Missouri on November 22, 1853, and was there entertained at a reception and a ball by the people of Council Bluffs. In less than three months Dodge had made a so-called survey of a line which by air would be nearly two hundred and fifty miles. Allan Slack, the Lyons surveyor, admitted that his survey from Iowa City west was a mere reconnaissance, but Dodge left after he did and reached his destination several days in the lead.[24]

The Lyons Iowa Central Road which had campaigned so audaciously was doomed to early failure. H. P. Adams of Syracuse, New York, the principal backer (and a fugitive from justice), had put laborers to work between Lyons and Iowa City and persuaded a number of counties to vote bonds. In June, 1854, he absconded with the bonds and left the counties with taxes to pay and the Irish laborers with a few groceries and some dry goods for their wages.[25] The "Calico Road" faded out completely but not before it had worried the M & M promoters into speedier progress.

Meanwhile Henry Farnam was striving to get construction started. In September he was urging that contracts be let, assuming that money to pay them would be forthcoming from Sheffield, but his old friend and partner insisted on withdrawing from any further responsibilities in the West except to meet obligations already incurred. He wrote "that . . . at the meeting in September following [1853] in New York, when you so warmly invited a vote giving you authority to put the road from Iowa [City] to Des Moines under contract, against which I strongly objected, unless you could point out the means of payment, I again said, that I *could not* and

[23] Perkins, *Trails, Rails, and War . . .*, 23.

[24] *Ibid.*, 25–8.

[25] Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History*, 1:214.

would not undertake to financeer for said company in any shape. . . ." Davenport, however, fully persuaded that the railroad would soon be hauling produce to its markets, subscribed to $75,000 worth of stock. Scott County, by a vote of 299 to 10, subscribed to $50,000 in stock, and individual subscriptions amounted to $100,000.[26]

One of the heavy individual subscribers was Antoine Le Claire, the famous three-hundred-pound proprietor of the Le Claire House. Of mixed blood (Indian and French-Canadian), he had been one of the original settlers at Davenport. His choice of land at the site of the future city brought him wealth which he handled with sagacity and yet with public-spirited generosity. When Dey and Dodge crossed the Mississippi and started their line through the city, Le Claire, alarmed that the route would pass through his orchard, protested to Dodge, and then appealed to Dey. The latter, however, confirmed Dodge in his choice. Soon mollified, Le Claire became a booster for the railroad, and his residence became its storehouse and later the first passenger depot. His property, so Ralph Waldo Emerson said, rose to the value of five or six hundred thousand dollars. "Tony" Le Claire subscribed to $25,000 stock of the railroad and sold eleven acres to the M & M for $15,000.[27] The Le Claire House was a famous hostelry. Emerson, visiting there in 1856, noted in his journal: "Rules of the house. 'No gentleman permitted to sit at the table without his coat.' 'No gambling permitted in the house.' . . . They talk 'quarter-sections' 'I will take a quarter-section of that pie!' "[28]

Le Claire also figured prominently in the ceremony of breaking ground for the M & M. "It was a day full of interest to the people of Davenport," wrote one of the city's historians. "Many of the old citizens, who had for years been living on in hope and confidence, now began to feel all their most sanguine wishes gratified." On the morning of September 1, 1853, a crowd of some two thousand people gathered to watch the procession

[26] Sheffield to Farnam, August 17, 1854, *Leonard Collection*, 3-4-26-4. (The Leonard Collection, State University of Iowa Library, is contained in 4-drawer filing cases; 3-4-26-4 signifies third case, fourth drawer, folder twenty-six, item four.) Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present* . . ., 113.

[27] M. M. Kinnavey, "Le Claire and the Beginning of Davenport" (Unpublished thesis, State University of Iowa, 1918); Perkins, *Trails, Rails, and War* . . ., 20; [John L. Scripps], *Rock Island and Its Surroundings* (Chicago, 1854), 26, 27.

[28] Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (eds.), *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (10 vols., Boston, 1909–1914), 8:585.

formed in honor of the occasion. The *Gazette* thus described the celebration:

> About 10½ o'clk. the citizens of Davenport, Rock Island and vicinities, assembled in front of the Le Claire Buildings, formed a procession and proceeded to the corner of Fifth and Rock Island sts. where the great work was to be commenced. In the procession were included the two brass bands of this city, the Odd Fellows in regalia, the German Verein Society and a large vehicle drawn by four horses containing Mr. Burnell and some thirty-five or forty men who are employed at his saw-mill.[29]

A. C. Fulton, marshal of the day, gave the honor of turning the first shovelful of earth on the M & M to Antoine Le Claire, who descended from the platform and with coat off performed the ritual amid shouting and waving of flags. At intervals in the program the bands "enlivened the scene by performing some of the most appropriate airs and the members of the Verein Society sung [*sic*], while a small company of artillery men from the old country, having in charge the 'cast-iron,' and stationed on a neighboring eminance [*sic*], made the welkin ring." Afterwards a dinner was served at the Le Claire House by the "Messrs. Lowry" to some one hundred fifty or two hundred people.[30]

Contractors soon had graders busy at the west end of the road. The *Gazette* announced on September 15 that another gang was to commence that day on the grade near West Liberty and that other crews were soon to begin operations on the line near Davenport. A month later the Davenport paper pronounced false a report "put in circulation at Iowa City, *by a party just suited for that business*," that M & M operations had ceased. Work at five points along the route was progressing rapidly.[31] At the end of October a Chicago editor on tour through the country found that a large amount of grading had already been done by some two or three hundred hands.

> This road, as the continuation of the Chicago and Rock Island road, is one in which our citizens are greatly interested. It is

[29] Davenport *Gazette*, September 8, 1853.

[30] *Ibid.*; Harry E. Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910), 1:196; Ambrose C. Fulton, *A Portion of Life's Voyage* (Davenport, 1902), 29.

[31] Davenport *Gazette*, September 15, October 13, 1853.

> opening up a country of unsurpassed natural resources to the trade of our city. Of the value and extent of its commerce, after it shall have been subjected to cultivation, I will not hazard an estimate, lest those who have not seen the country might suspect me of a design of over-stating the importance of the road to Chicago, and of the profitable character of the enterprise as an investment for capital.[32]

In January of 1854 there were rumors that the force of laborers was about to strike in consequence of a reduction in wages, but the strike failed to materialize. Most of the six hundred hands then employed were concentrated near Davenport where the Mississippi bluffs made extensive grading necessary. At West Liberty there were some sixty men at work, and Peter Dey was about to set out with a surveying crew to make final determination of the line west of Iowa City.[33]

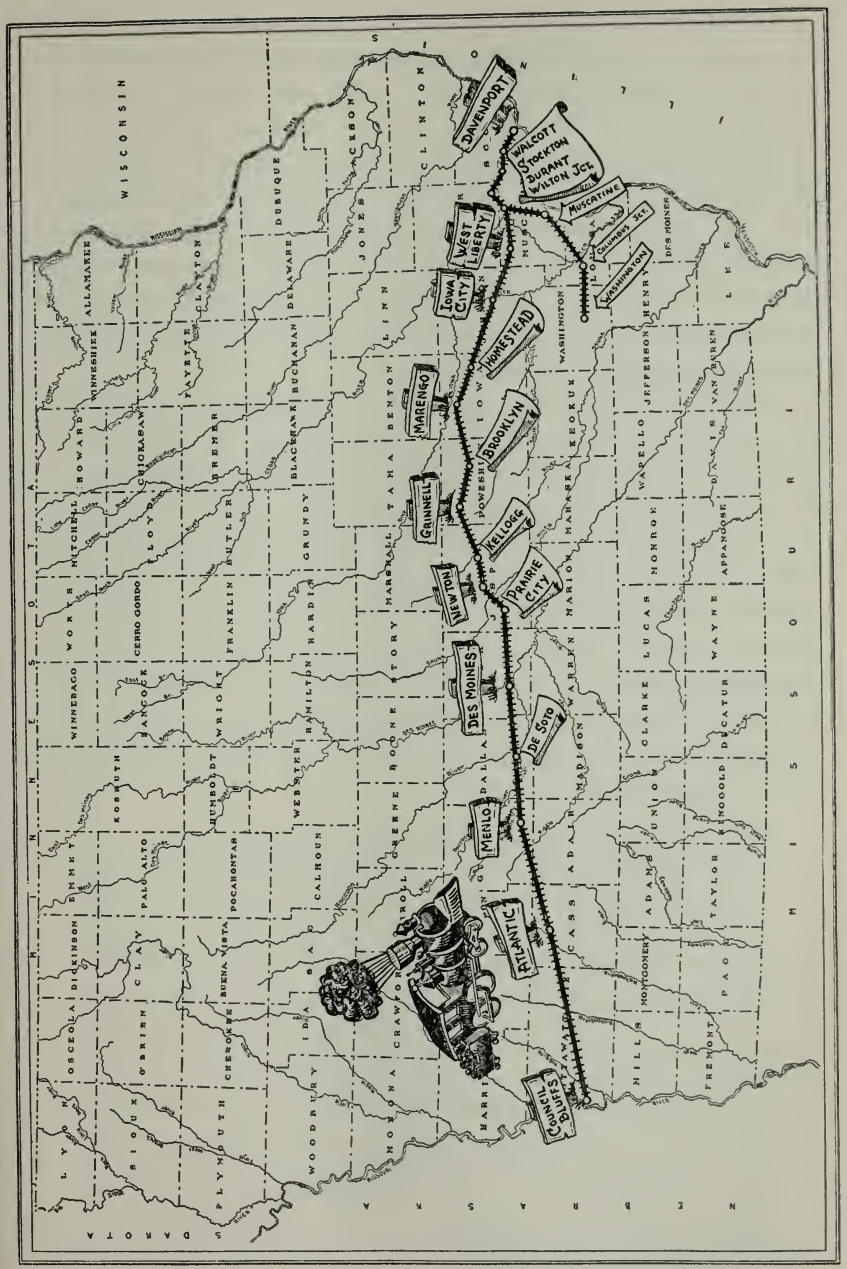
During the year 1854 the work slowed down, and even through the first half of 1855 very little was done. June of 1855 was almost gone before a single rail was laid in Iowa. The company was having difficulty negotiating its securities. Certainly by the end of 1854 the stringency of the money market presaged the greater depression of 1857. Then, too, the company had relied too much on the success of the federal land bill which failed of passage in 1854. Again, there were troubles within the company which hindered smooth performance. All of these difficulties are reflected in the correspondence of company officials. William Walcott thought that Farnam was spending too much time on the M & M to the detriment of the Rock Island. Sheffield suggested that General Dix be replaced by someone else as president of the M & M. Dix had been selected, said Sheffield, because "his position with the administration was such as to give us much to hope for, in our Land Bill and our Bridge matter." Sheffield suggested further that "some good reason — excuse — for opening a new subscription" be found. A new president who could bring assurance that the iron would be laid and the road opened during the summer would encourage subscriptions.[34]

The threatened reshuffle in the company did not occur, however. Farnam

[32] [Scripps], *Rock Island and Its Surroundings*, 23-4.

[33] Iowa City *Republican* as quoted in the Davenport *Gazette*, January 19, 1854.

[34] See Farnam to T. C. Durant, September 10, 1854, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-40; Farnam to Durant, October 14, 1854, *ibid.*, 4-1-10-20; Sheffield to Cook and Walcott, March 10, 1855, *idid.*, 3-4-26-2.


DAVENPORT
WALCOTT
STOCKTON
DURANT
WILTON JCT.
MUSCATINE
WEST LIBERTY
IOWA CITY
HOMESTEAD
MARENGO
BROOKLYN
GRINNELL
KELLOGG
PRAIRIE CITY
NEWTON
DES MOINES
DE SOTO
MENLO
ATLANTIC
COUNCIL BLUFFS
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
NEBRASKA
DAKOTA

still retained the confidence of at least the majority of the directors, and he was as before the leading spirit. John Adams Dix remained president and Farnam took over as a contractor, this time with Thomas C. Durant as partner.

On May 8, 1855, the *Gazette* jubilantly announced that "Farnam, the Railroad King," had personally taken over the contract for building the M & M. "Its speedy construction depended upon so many contingencies, that stockholders had begun to fear years must elapse before they received any return whatever for their investments, but now that Farnum [*sic*] has taken the matter in hand, they feel an assurance that the work will steadily and rapidly advance to completion."[35]

The partnership of Farnam and Durant came apparently as a result of the suggestion of Sheffield. Farnam had urged the latter to accept more financial responsibility in Iowa, and Sheffield had subscribed $50,000 in the stock of the M & M and had endorsed with Walcott for $50,000 more, but beyond this he refused to go. "Now, under such circumstances, to be told," he wrote to Farnam, "that if the work stops in Iowa, it will 'ruin my personal credit and character,' will not for a moment divert me from my purpose, or frighten me into new engagements which prudence, and justice to my own family, and my own peace of mind, forbid." In the same letter he went on to suggest that Farnam and Thomas C. Durant, with possibly a third party, offer to contract for the road to Iowa City and Muscatine. He praised Durant highly.

> Mr. Durant has shown himself a man of business and a man of nerve. He had shown himself, in relation to the Peoria road, and in all other matters, in such a light, as to command our utmost confidence and esteem, — with such a man, you are in safe hands: you and he have the means — good & valuable securities, to pledge for 12 months, as security for the Iron; so that it may go forward this season, — Chateau & Co. *must* extend the credit to 12 months with the securities *you can* give them; Gen'l Dix will take London on his way, and I think may succeed in having the credit extended to any further parcels of Iron from year to year, that the Company will hereafter need, and in this way you can easily get the *stem* of the road early in operation. It will prove profitable, . . . which will enable you to command the means for all further extensions.

[35] Davenport *Gazette*, May 8, 1855.

Sheffield evinced great confidence in the M & M project. He had, he said, more confidence in the Iowa project than he had had in the Chicago and Rock Island at its inception. He remarked a certain prejudice against railroads might "soon die away, so far at least as good lines, in the hands of good & honorable men, are concerned." The Rock Island road would soon become known as the leading line to California; the land bill would pass; and the undertaking beckoned young and enterprising men.[36]

By the terms of their contract with the M & M, signed May 2, 1855, Farnam and Durant had agreed to complete the construction of the roads from Davenport to Muscatine and Iowa City according to plans already drawn up by engineer B. B. Brayton. They were to build shops, engine houses, and station buildings and furnish equipment to the amount of $310,750. They agreed to take over all contracts for iron, grading, bridging, and engineering already in force. For the above they were to be paid $31,000 per mile. The sum was to be paid as follows: $400,000 in cash; 1,000 M & M bonds of $1,000 each, at the rate of 80 cents to the dollar; 70 Muscatine bonds of $1,000 each, at 90 cents on the dollar; 50 Johnson County bonds; and 50 Iowa City bonds. The balance of the amount was to be paid in M & M stock at 75 cents on the dollar. The road was to be completed by January 1, 1856, and was to be surrendered to the company on July 1, 1856. Farnam and Durant were to have an option on contracts contemplated for extensions of the road: from Muscatine to Oskaloosa, from Iowa City to Des Moines, and from the main line to Cedar Rapids.[37]

Henry Farnam had entered into the contract with some misgiving. Thomas C. Durant, known among his acquaintances as "Doctor" Durant, was not noted for the scruples which distinguished Joseph Sheffield, Farnam's former partner.[38] Yet had not the twin disasters of depression and war struck the company, it seems probable that Farnam and Durant would have pushed the M & M across Iowa in much the same fashion that Farnam and Sheffield had handled the Rock Island in Illinois.

For a few months prospects brightened. At the end of May, 1855, timber which had floated down from Wisconsin and Minnesota arrived at Rock Island, and ties sufficient to complete the first division (to Iowa City)

[36] Sheffield to Farnam, August 17, 1854, *Leonard Collection*, 3-4-26-4.

[37] Copy of Contract, *ibid.*, 1-3-24-1.

[38] Farnam, *Memoir of Henry Farnam*, 50; Farnam to T. C. Durant, August 13, 1855, *Leonard Collection*, 1-3-15-24.

were on the way. At the end of June the first iron was laid, on a temporary track from the river to the bed of the road, to convey iron and rolling stock now in readiness for the track laying.[39]

On July 19, 1855, Iowa's first locomotive arrived. The "Antoine Le Claire" had been ready for its distinguished work for several months. Back in January the editor of the Peru (Illinois) *Chronicle* had "accidentally stumbled against the engine" in the Peru roundhouse. The decorations of the locomotive were impressive.

> On the side pannels of the "sand box" we observed two bronze statues of Capt. Le Claire, in half-relief, terminating at the knees in an elaborated bronze scroll, also, in half-relief under these statues, are paintings, on either pannel illustrative of his early life and adventures. . . . We have not the honor of an acquaintance with Capt. Le Claire, but the corpulent, hearty-looking, bronze gentleman, with his stout cane, and benevolent face, that looks down upon us from the sand box, may be a careless sinner, but we will warrant him the king of good fellows, open handed, and possessed of a heart capable of assuming any breadth of capacity that hospitality may require.[40]

When the day came for the locomotive's first work, it was brought over on a flatboat especially rigged for rolling stock. A temporary track laid the length of the boat received the locomotive from the Rock Island tracks and discharged the "Antoine Le Claire" on a spur track across the river. The historic incident was witnessed, so B. B. Brayton recalled, by an Indian, much less impressed by the mechanical products of the white man's genius than was the white man himself.

> He [the Indian] was seated by a large boulder that lay near the water's edge at that place, hard by a certain stately cotton wood, and was absorbedly engaged in streaking his coppery face with a certain whitish clay that he pawed out from the bank at that spot, directing his efforts by means of a fragment of mirror that was conveniently placed upon the rock. With all the unparalleled interest of the performance of the pale faces in landing the Antoine Le Claire this unmoved son of the forest pursued his frescoing without the slightest evidence that he felt any interest in what was doing hard by. A few times he did deign to squint an instant in

[39] Davenport *Gazette*, May 26, June 30, 1855.

[40] Peru (Illinois) *Chronicle*, January 10, 1855, as quoted in the Davenport *Gazette*, January 15, 1855.

the direction of the flatboat and the locomotive, but he never paused in his work of decoration, and never missed a stroke.[41]

The small crowd gathered to witness the arrival of the locomotive cheered as it was hauled from the flatboat up the steep embankment to the station grounds. Antoine Le Claire was present at the event which was described by the *Gazette* as the beginning of an "ever memorable era in the history of our beautiful State. Well may Davenport feel a lasting pride in the consummation of such a step toward her future greatness." Carried away by his enthusiasm, the *Gazette* editor indulged in journalistic oratory:

> While I am writing, the worthy and efficient managers of this welcome visitor are preparing it for the temporary track that will lead it to its depot, from which place it will in a few hours enter upon its destined usefulness. Who shall contemplate its destiny? Will Cedar river bound its westward labor? Will Iowa City stay its course? Will the great Missouri river say, here shall thy proud course be stayed? Shall the towering ramparts of the Rocky Mountains give limits to its onward course? No, the quiet shores of the mighty Pacific shall be awakened by the shrill whistle of its engine — the welcome tones of its alarm bell.[42]

Provided with water and pine "rattlings" from Renwick's sawmill, the "Antoine Le Claire" made its first run loaded with passengers, red and white, clinging to the locomotive wherever space was available. At street crossings the pioneer locomotive and its burden were greeted by cheers, smiles, and the waving "of handkerchiefs from fair ladies."[43]

An incident of this first ride was related fifty years later:

> There were Indians aplenty in town just then. That night there was to be a "beggar dance," a crude performance after which the hat was to be passed. When just about opposite the spot well known to fame as the Patch, the engineer of the Antoine Le Claire, lifting up his eyes hillwards, beheld Indians, in numbers, gaily blanketed and regardant. He stopped the engine, signalled to them with emphatic wavings of his arms to come, inviting them in pantomime to take a ride with him.
>
> Never, in all the history of trans-Mississippi railroading, was there greater eagerness on the part of the impecunious to avail

[41] Davenport *Democrat*, Half-Century Edition, October 22, 1905, p. 51.

[42] *Davenport Gazette*, July 20, 1855.

[43] Davenport *Gazette*, July 21, 1855.

himself of the proffer of a free pass. In their haste not to get left those bucks cast to the winds their blankets, all they had on earth perhaps, and ran with all possible speed, down the hill to the track where the Antoine Le Claire stood gently steaming, with shouts and laughter. They swarmed upon and over her, a score of them; and so, with all the passengers, red and white, that could be stuck on the tender and the cab, the first run in this section of the United States was made.[44]

Very soon the snort of the "iron horse" brought its first runaway. "A span of spirited horses attached to Mr. Kincaid's buggy started at the unusual sound and becoming entirely unmanageable, that gentleman and another leaped from the vehicle and gave them the reins. They took a circuit of the city, tumbling into a deep gutter on Rock Island street and breaking the buggy, but otherwise . . . doing no damage."[45]

By the end of the first week in August rails were laid five miles from Davenport. Iron was going down at the rate of a half mile a day. At the end of August, instead of unloading iron at Rock Island, the contractors were running cars onto flatboats furnished with rails and rolling them directly onto a track again at Davenport.[46] To an outside observer the work seemed to be progressing very smoothly and efficiently, but Farnam was disgusted with his sub-contractors. On his return to Chicago from Iowa at the beginning of August, Farnam wrote Durant that he had been trying to "get things going" a little more to his liking. "It is almost like raising the dead to start Carmichael & Warner out of their slow gait — I shall follow them up, & if it is possible, will get them on a little faster speed ere long —"[47] A few days later he complained again that Carmichael and Warner has disappointed him. He had pretty much made up his mind, he wrote, that if he built a thousand miles of railroad he would never turn over more than one small section to either of them. He had told John Henry that he would gladly give $10,000 to have his sub-contractors out of the way for four months.

There were bright spots in the picture, however. The track laying on the branch road to Muscatine was not under contract and I. R. Boyle had been

[44] Davenport *Democrat*, Half-Century Edition, October 22, 1905, pp. 49–51.

[45] Davenport *Gazette*, July 23, 1855.

[46] Keokuk *Gate City*, August 8, 1855; Davenport *Gazette*, August 25, 1855.

[47] Farnam to T. C. Durant, August 2, 10, 1855; *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-44, 4-1-9-30.

placed in charge. Farnam had confidence in Boyle who had worked for him before. Eight thousand ties were on the spot and rails were about to go forward at the rate of one hundred tons every other day. By the middle of August, Farnam had "started both Warner and Carmichael into a little quicker speed." Carmichael was putting down 3,000 feet of track per day and he promised more, but Farnam was not satisfied. ". . . Carmichael is but very little better than a dead man. He is a Slow Coach — But I think I have got things so arranged . . . that he cannot hinder us much — I think both he & Warner made up their minds that the easiest way to immortalize their names was to keep in the way & hinder us all they can — I think they are doing their last work for me —"[48]

The first station on the new road was about twelve miles from Davenport. The site of Walcott was an open prairie in January, 1854. Recognizing the town-site possibilities of the location, certain of the railroad promoters, particularly William Walcott and Ebenezer Cook, bought up the land and had an architect lay out the future community. By May, 1854, several houses were up and laborers were engaged in clearing ground for a depot. The *Gazette* editor surmised that "From the interest the company, or prominent individuals of the company, have in the town, we presume every feature that will tend to confer importance upon it, or aid in its progress, will be developed."[49] Ebenezer Cook was an Iowan, but he was as much interested in making a fortune from land and railroad schemes as was any eastern capitalist. Later, when plans were under way for extending the line west of Iowa City, Farnam observed: "I find that notwithstanding Mr Cook told you that they had no interest in lands along the line of a Road, that the moment we talk of changing the location he is on end in a twinkling."[50] Regardless of what his profit may have been in the enterprise, William Walcott donated five hundred dollars toward a school building for his namesake.[51] On August 21, 1855, the Davenport *Gazette* carried an announcement by Cook and Sargent of a "Public Auction" of "Fifty Building Lots" in the new town.[52]

[48] Farnam to T. C. Durant, August 10, 1855, *ibid.*, 4-1-9-30; Farnam to T. C. Durant, August 14, 1855, *ibid.*, 1-2-17-42.

[49] Davenport *Democrat*, May 25, 1854.

[50] Farnam to T. C. Durant, August 7, 1856, *Leonard Collection*, 1-3-15-46.

[51] Davenport *Gazette*, August 7, 1855, copy in *Leonard Collection*, 3-2-23-15.

[52] Davenport *Gazette*, August 21, 1855.

About nine o'clock Saturday morning, August 25, Iowa's first passenger train left Davenport for Walcott. Farnam had loaned Cook and Sargent two coaches from the Rock Island road for the trip.[53] Five flatcars used for hauling railroad iron were rigged with a temporary railing and provided with chairs and settees. The locomotives "Le Claire" and "Iowa" pulled in these conveyances some five hundred people, including in their number seventy-five ladies and a brass band. The steep grade out of the town was surmounted without difficulty, and some of the citizens of Davenport viewed their own hinterland for the first time. After an hour's trip over the twelve-mile track, the excursionists and buyers were welcomed by Walcott residents and others gathered for the occasion.

> Proceeding to the Walcott House, the ladies there found ample accomodations, while the gentlemen repaired to a convenient spot to engage in the mission that had brought them thither, which was to purchase at public auction the lots yets [*sic*] remaining unsold on the town plot of Walcott. Mr. H. Kilbourn, the popular auctioneer, mounted a rostrum and with the happy faculty he possesses of showing the good points of anything he wishes to dispose of to the highest bidder, soon had lots in Walcott selling at from $200 to $250 each. These were choice lots, however, and they soon depreciated in price until from $100 to $150 were the ruling rates and outlots even went so low as from $50 to $75.[54]

On Monday night Cook wrote Durant that the sale had gone off well and that the five hundred people were brought back safe and well pleased. On September 4 he wrote: "The sale of Lots in Walcott on the [account] with you & Farnam on the 25th amounted to over $2500 at *good prices.*"[55]

Walcott was not the only town along the line from Davenport to Iowa City which sprang suddenly into being in anticipation of, or in response to, rail transportation. "Many of our readers," said the *Gazette*, "have undoubtedly observed the magic-like progress of the stations on line of the Chicago and Rock Island Road; places that a year and a half ago resembled Walcott in its present primitive state, but are *now* depots of commercial importance, surrounded by a country rapidly improving, receiving its impulse from the

[53] Farnam to T. C. Durant [about August 1, 1855], *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-43-13.

[54] Davenport *Gazette*, August 28, 1855. An account of this trip may be found also in the Des Moines *Register and Leader*, August 26, 1905.

[55] E. Cook to T. C. Durant, August 27, September 4, 1855, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-12-36, 1-2-18-5.

sparks of enterprise cast along its course from the nostrils of the 'iron horse.' "[56] Fulton, now called Stockton, was one such station. A. C. Fulton, a great booster for A. C. Fulton and for Davenport, had laid out the town. On September 15 another crowd of prospective buyers with a few ladies who "notwithstanding a threatening sky, graced the construction cars," steamed through Walcott and on to Fulton. Another artificially located town was Durant, just a few miles beyond Fulton. B. B. Brayton, one of the railroad engineers, platted the town in 1854. According to one account, probably correct, this Cedar County land was owned by Brayton, John Adams Dix, and T. C. Durant, and the original location of the railroad was moved slightly north in order to strike their holdings. Durant, named by Brayton after T. C. Durant, was recorded as a town in June, 1855, and was reached by the railroad in October, 1855. In this case the three proprietors had donated a half section of land for a town-site. The first shipment of produce on an Iowa railroad consisted of two hundred and thirty-four bushels of wheat shipped by Benjamin P. Putnam of Durant to a dealer in Davenport, on September 15, 1855.[57]

Construction continued and the track reached the Cedar River in the middle of October. Time was running out on the contract which called for completion of the road to Iowa City and Muscatine by January 1, 1856. A further incentive for speed was Iowa City's proposal of a $50,000 subscription, providing the first train reached the town by midnight of December 31. In October Farnam had high hopes of meeting the terms. As soon as the main track reached the Cedar River, Carmichael's crew was shifted to the branch line from Wilton Junction to Muscatine. Meanwhile Boyle was working north from Muscatine so that only a few miles remained to be completed before the Muscatine celebration on November 20.[58] Work on the main line progressed less satisfactorily. John E. Henry, general superintendent, wrote engineer Samuel B. Reed on October 25:

> Can you fill up your gang of Track Layers by putting up wages? My idea would be to find some way to draw off the men from the work west of Muscatine, until this work is closed up, provided we cannot get men enough to keep both going. Suppose you should

[56] Davenport *Gazette*, August 24, 1855.

[57] *Ibid.*, September 18, 1855; Durant *Daily Times*, December 6, 1927.

[58] Farnam to T. C. Durant, October 14, 1855, October 15, 1855, *Leonard Collection*, 4-1-9-20, 4-1-9-28.

> see your Contractors on that part of the line and talk this over with them; I should rather pay 1 50/100 dollars per day now, than have the work drag along so slowly. If we do not lay to grade now, we shall not be able to get our track up before winter setts [*sic*] in; you will do better to lay to grade wherever the material will allow of it.[59]

If these top wages of $1.50 per day seem extremely small when compared with present-day wages, it must be remembered that living costs of that day were correspondingly low. Just a year before, a Muscatine resident wrote that corn was selling at 20 and 25 cents a bushel, beef at 6 and 7 cents a pound, pork at 5 and 6 cents per pound. Prairie chickens and domestic chickens could be bought for $1.50 a dozen and turkeys for 50 cents each. Butter was 10 and 12 cents per pound.[60]

The celebrations at Muscatine and Iowa City, marking completion of the railroad to those two points, were matters of interest not only to local citizenry but to eastern capitalists and Chicago boosters who were feeling out the business potentialities of the rising young state. The first of these festive occasions occurred in Muscatine on November 20, 1855.

The excursion train made the trip from Davenport to Muscatine in four hours. Proper caution was exercised on the newly-laid track so that all arrived safely.[61] Unfortunately for local boosters, Muscatine that morning was

> . . . a sea of mist and rain. Above, the heavens were arrayed in a shroud of gloom, and beneath, the earth presented one magnificent mass of mud. It was a day above all others best calculated to dampen the spirits and chill the ardor of our citizens, and doubtless succeeded in keeping at home hundreds who had every preparation made to spend a joyous day in our city.

Iowa mud, proverbial for its depth and stickiness, kept many out-of-towners away until evening. By noon, however, the town's leading hotel, the Ogilvie House, and the area around it were thronged with strangers and the entire population of Muscatine turned out to witness what one enthusiast styled "one of the sublime triumphs of mind over matter that perhaps the history of the world records." "It was an event that can never

[59] Henry to Reed, October 25, 1855, *ibid.*, 1-1-49-23.

[60] Isaac Lane Usher, "Letters of a Railroad Builder," *The Palimpsest*, 3:26 (January, 1922).

[61] Davenport *Gazette*, November 22, 1855.

have its parallel in Iowa," this journalist went on to say. "From this event, civilization with all its attendant blessings of religion, the arts and sciences, literature and commerce, will start a part in the great work of redeeming, purifying and saving the world. Can it, in all its vastness of interest and importance, be justly and wholly appreciated?"

At one o'clock the "Muscatine," bedecked with flags, pulled its train of six cars into the town "amid the stentorian shouts of the assembled people and the soul-stirring strains of music which threw a charm into the moment beyond the power of language to describe." Muscatine's mayor, in his peroration, pronounced the event a mere foreshadowing of the glorious future. The "iron horse" had paused only for a breathing spell. Soon he would reach the Pacific and would return "bearing the riches of nation and empires." Mayor Levi D. Boone, conscious of his city's widening province, declared that Chicago was proud to receive Muscatine into her great family. Following the usual toasts, a ball concluded the festivities.[62]

Meanwhile, the $50,000 subscription promised by Iowa City was a prize worth working for, but with winter weather upon them, could the contractors possibly fulfill their part of the bargain and secure the subscription for the company? On the evening of Christmas day the railroad was within about two and one-half miles of Iowa City. The mercury was so low that completion of the track by midnight of December 31 appeared very doubtful. Locomotives must be kept continually fired up to prevent freezing of boilers.[63] As December 31 drew to a close, a gap of several hundred feet still separated the end of track from the Iowa City terminal. Citizens of Iowa City turned out to assist the regular laborers. Great bonfires were built along the track to assist with warmth and light, and Henry Farnam was there to supervise personally the final effort. He afterwards told Durant that had he not been on the scene during those last critical days, the track would not have reached Iowa City before February.[64]

Tradition ascribes peculiar circumstances to that exciting occasion. "It was said that among the many strange effects the cold produced was an un-

[62] "When the 'Iron Horse' Came," *Rock Island Magazine*, Anniversary Number, 17:58-9 (October, 1922). This is a reprint of a story appearing in the Muscatine *Journal*, November 23, 1855.

[63] Davenport *Gazette*, December 27, 1855.

[64] Farnam to T. C. Durant, January 7, 1856, *Leonard Collection*, 1-3-15-27.

accountable excitement manifested among many of the Sons of Temperance. . . . A horse and wagon made regular trips to and from the city bringing oil and other 'trimmings' for the work." Within two hundred feet of the station platform the engine "froze up." Over the remaining gap ties were placed temporarily for the rails and the locomotive was coaxed to the platform inch by inch by the use of pinch bars. End of track was reached just as the church bells began to welcome the year 1856. At the completion of the work, the engineer, Charles Stickles, fell unconscious beside the engine and was carried to the station by his fellow-workers.[65]

Not to be outdone by their neighbors of Muscatine, the citizens of Iowa City prepared an elaborate celebration. At a meeting called by the city council, $2,500 was pledged. On the morning of January 3 the mercury stood at eighteen degrees below zero, but in spite of the cold a train of six cars left Davenport at about 9 o'clock bound for Iowa City. Another car, brought to the junction from Muscatine, was added to the train. The "comfortably warmed" cars were drawn slowly over the newly-laid track from West Liberty. A passenger wrote: "At Iowa City we were welcomed by the firing of the cannon and shouts of the citizens hundreds of whom, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, met the cars about a half-mile out and followed them into the city. Vehicles of every description were brought into requisition, but were not in sufficient number to accommodate all, the men generally however, preferring to walk."[66] At the station a procession was formed which, accompanied by the music of three bands, made its way to "Old Capitol." There the guests were welcomed by LeGrand Byington, president of the day.

Decorations and provisions for the evening banquet were described some years later by one who saw them as a girl:

> The committee on arrangements consisted of thirty-five ladies and as many gentlemen. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Berryhill were of this number and I, a schoolgirl, being one of the family at that time, had the opportunity in a small way of seeing and helping spread the four tables set the length of the Representatives' Hall. For instance, I had the privilege and pleasure of helping frost with *real loaf* sugar (a thing of luxury in those days) the thirty-two

[65] Capt. F. M. Irish, "History of Johnson County, Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 6:315 (October, 1868); Nevins, "Seventy Years of Service . . .," 22-3.

[66] Davenport *Gazette*, January 7, 1856.

pounds of pound cake which Mrs. Berryhill had ordered from her baker for the occasion. We were told that only the white meat of the turkeys she had ordered would be used and must be sliced very thin. But the supreme time to me was when on the last day of preparation, I went with Mrs. Berryhill to the Capitol and saw the tables and hall in all their glory. Over the speaker's stand was an arch that the ladies of the committee had covered with branches of evergreen in the midst of which were balls of cotton to imitate snow balls. In one corner of the hall was an old fashioned cook stove where the committee prepared and served hot coffee and hot fresh oysters, as the coming of the railroad made fresh oysters for the first time possible in Iowa. As the tables were bountifully spread with cold food, the committee served hot coffee and oysters all night "till broad day light in the morning."

As this was before the age of the European way of serving, everything was on the tables in abundance and every one helped himself. Besides the loaves of cake supplied, each table had three pyramids of cake from three to four feet in height and at the head of one table was one of popcorn four feet in height. I remember two of the pyramids of cake in particular from the way they were decorated. In the center of one was a peach tree, of wax of course, bearing a perfect fruit with a blackberry vine with green leaves and black fruit starting from the base and winding round and round over the white surface to the top. The other one bore a tree of leaves and red apples with a vine of red raspberries. One of the trees was presented to the president of the road and the other, I believe, to the Governor.[67]

Out of the $2,500 set aside for the celebration, a considerable amount remained which was applied on surveys to the west. In the exultant hour when the railroad was completed to Iowa City, optimism reigned. No Iowan doubted the railroad president's prediction that another celebration would be held in Des Moines in 1857 and that the track would be speedily completed to the Missouri River. No one could foresee the calamities of depression and war which among other things upset the construction timetable.

Actually during the next ten years, years of great disappointment to all concerned in the M & M project, track was extended less than one hundred miles on the main line. Construction virtually stopped after the road

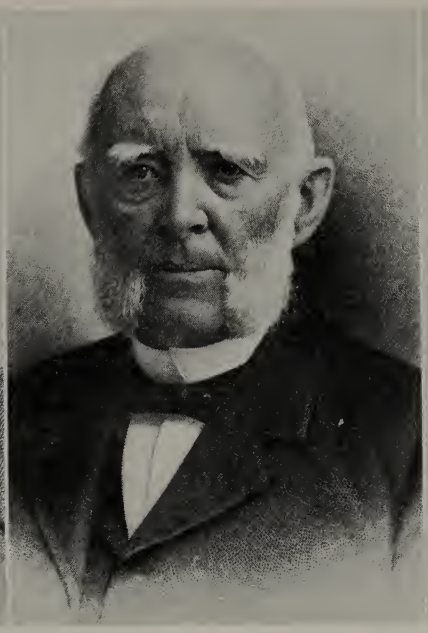
[67] Sarah Ellen Graves, "The Coming of the Railroad," *The Palimpsest*, 2:240–43 (August, 1921); Keokuk *Gate City*, January 11, 1856; Irish, "History of Johnson County, Iowa," 316.

reached Kellogg, a few miles west of Grinnell, in July of 1865. Just as the first division was completed, the panic of 1857 struck, constricting the money market and depressing receipts. To hold its land grant, obtained in 1856, the company was compelled to push construction westward to make a show at least of meeting the conditions of the federal and state land-grant bills. The first division, already mortgaged, was mortgaged again, the road to be constructed was mortgaged, and finally the lands were mortgaged. Bonds could not be negotiated except at a great loss and stocks fell until during the Civil War they were worth less than ten cents on the dollar. No dividends could be paid and the company defaulted on payment of interest on bonds. Bankruptcy was inevitable.

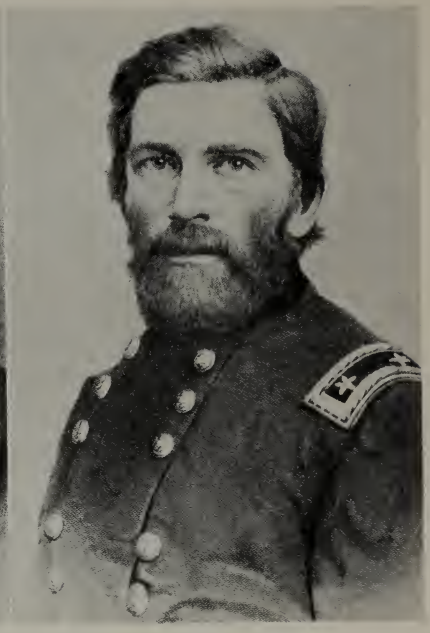
The Civil War had its effect on the M & M as it did on all western projects, tying up capital and producing a shortage of labor. Then, too, it would seem that the M & M was poorly managed, especially after Henry Farnam was forced to leave the project in the hands of men interested less in the ultimate success of the enterprise than in immediate profits of speculation. Only with the end of the war and consolidation in July, 1866, of the Iowa and Illinois projects into the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad came renewed activity and a rapid extension of the line to Council Bluffs where connection was made with the Union Pacific in May, 1869, two years after the Chicago and North Western Railroad had reached that point but only one day after the golden spike had been driven at Promontory Point, completing the first transcontinental railroad.



Antoine Le Claire



Peter A. Dey



Grenville M. Dodge



Wilhelm Weitling



Romanzo Kingman

COMMUNIA, IOWA,
A Nineteenth-Century German-American Utopia

By George Schulz-Behrend

The social and economic inequalities growing out of the industrial revolution of the early decades of the nineteenth century in Europe brought unrest and revolutions. The socialist theories of this period were an outgrowth of this unrest, and were particularly strong in France and Germany. Many of the German socialists were forced to leave their homeland and find refuge either in Switzerland or France. Some European socialists emigrated to the United States during these years and were instrumental in founding certain experimental communal colonies. The "phalanxes" of the followers of Fourier; the experiments of Robert Owen in New Harmony, Indiana; the Amana colonies in Iowa — all these are examples of socialist, or "communist," Utopias set up in the America of the early nineteenth century. Wilhelm Weitling, a German communist, early became active in forwarding German socialist thought in the United States among the industrial workers of the East. His connection with an Iowa Utopian colony at Communia in Clayton County is of interest as an example of one such experiment in communal living.

Although not prominently mentioned in the literature on Utopian colonies in the United States, Communia, Iowa, is not unknown. In many respects Communia was the successor of a Swiss-American communistic colony, New Helvetia, in Osage County, Missouri.[1] That colony had been the brief and imperfect realization of Andreas Dietsch's idea of a perfect place to live, but with the founder's death the members of the colony had scattered, most of them turning to St. Louis for work and wages in capital-

[1] Information on Communia can be found in the two histories of Clayton County: Realto E. Price (ed.), *History of Clayton County, Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1916), 1:322; *History of Clayton County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1882), 1116–18; in a number of newspaper stories; and chiefly in Joseph Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1900), 96–101. None of these accounts is complete. On New Helvetia and its founder, see G. Schulz-Behrend, "Andreas Dietsch and New Helvetia, Missouri," in Volume II of *The Swiss Record, Yearbook of the Swiss-American Historical Society*, which will be published in March of 1950. A biography of Wilhelm Weitling by Carl Wittke will be published in 1950 by the Louisiana University Press.

ist society. Here they came under the influence of the German revolutionary refugee, Heinrich Koch — watchmaker, journalist, poet, and politician of communist persuasion.

Some of the New Helvetians, communists since before their departure from Switzerland, were willing to try another Utopian venture. Meanwhile, the Mexican War afforded them an outlet for their energies and at the same time, through the land warrants awarded veterans, brought them nearer to the founding of their second colony. When Major-General Gaines called for volunteers, Koch, who had had some military experience in Germany, produced from the membership of his communist club one of the first volunteer companies to be accepted into the United States Army. His "Texas Freischar" (Texas Free Corps) became Company H of the St. Louis Legion, Missouri Volunteers, and was mustered into service on May 19, 1846, with a full complement of men. Koch, who had contributed so heavily to the equipping of his company that he had to mortgage his house, was elected captain.[2] Because of the incomplete lists of the members of New Helvetia, only two men — Benjamin Friedrich Weis, saddle maker, and Cornelius Kopp, tailor — can definitely be identified as New Helvetians and veterans of the Mexican War — however, there may have been others.[3]

Receipt of land warrants by Mexican War veterans was a most powerful incentive toward the founding of the new Utopia at Communia, Iowa. Koch, time and again characterized as a forceful man, was certainly behind the plan. While all the details cannot be ascertained now, several different sources agree that Communia was founded in 1847.[4]

According to one account, Koch and a man named Hochstetter, together with others, bought some Iowa land near the Mississippi River; this location,

[2] Information on the life of Koch can be found in Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa . . .*, 198–205 (portrait on p. 199), and in an obituary in the Dubuque *Daily Herald*, Feb. 19, 1879. See J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County . . .* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1883), 1:365, 939, for some information on Koch's military and publishing activities before his removal to Dubuque.

[3] The muster roll of the company, signed by Colonel Davenport and Captain Koch at the time of mustering out (Jefferson Barracks, August 31, 1846) lists 86 men. The roll was photostated through the cooperation of the War Records Office, National Archives.

[4] Wilhelm Weitling in *Die Republik der Arbeiter* (hereafter abbreviated *RdA*), Oct. 18, 1851, May 8, 1852; F. Weis in *ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1852; the obituary of Joseph Venus, in a clipping from the Elkader *Nord-Iowa Herold*, Feb. [?], 1880, which gives September 13, 1847, as the founding date.

however, did not suit them and they subsequently acquired some of the land that is known as Communia today. Although these transactions could not be verified, there is no reason to doubt them. According to the deed records of Clayton County, the first land later to become part of Communia was entered in the name of Adam Koch, Captain Heinrich Koch's son and an ex-private of Company H, on April 11, 1848. Two other ex-privates of Company H, August Obert and Anton Lubbing, followed on October 11, 1848, each with a 40-acre tract. Henry Koch himself entered 40 acres on one warrant on May 31, 1849, and another 40 acres on another warrant on July 26, 1849. Lewis Weinel, another of Koch's men, followed with 40 acres on his own warrant and 40 more acres on a warrant assigned to him; both entries are dated July 4, 1850. All other original entries are in the name of Joseph Venus and Lewis Weinel, in whose hands the land was concentrated and from whom it was transferred to the Communia Colony proper on August 19, 1850, and on November 16, 1850.[5]

Hardly had the settlement been started when trouble arose between Koch and the other members. The colony had as yet no charter, and Koch, in order to protect his investment, had rushed to the land office to transfer the land to himself and then had forced the colonists to buy it back from him.[6] The colonists objected to this and Koch left the incipient colony in a

[5] F. Weis in *RdA*, Dec. 25, 1852. The following land was conveyed by Joseph Venus to the Communia Colony on Aug. 19, 1850:

SE¼ of SE¼,	sec. 18, 92-4	NE¼ of NWfr¼,	sec. 18, 92-4
NE¼ of NE¼	" 18, 92-4	SE¼ of SW¼	" 7, 92-4
S½ of SE¼	" 7, 92-4	NE¼ of SE¼	" 13, 92-5
SE¼ of SW¼	" 12, 92-4	NW¼ of NE¼	" 18, 92-4

The price paid for this total of about 360 acres was $970. On this same date Lewis Weinel conveyed to the Communia Colony:

SW¼ of NW¼,	sec. 8, 92-4	SE¼ of NW¼,	sec. 14, 92-4

The price paid for these 80 acres was $100.

On Nov. 16, 1850, Venus conveyed to the Communia Colony:

SE¼ of NWfr¼	sec. 18, 92-4	E½ of SE¼	sec. 12, 92-5
SE½ of NEfr¼	" 7, 92-4	W½ of SE¼	" 18, 92-4
SW¼ of SW¼	" 7, 92-4	NE¼ of SWfr¼	" 7, 92-4
NE¼ of SWfr¼	" 18, 92-4	NW¼ of SE¼	" 12, 92-5
N½ of SE¼	" 7, 92-4		

The price paid for these 480 acres, more or less, was $500. Clayton County Deed Records (Elkader, Iowa), Vol. F, 171, 173, 174, 489; dates of original entries, warrant numbers, etc., are also given there.

[6] F. Weis in *RdA*, Dec. 25, 1852. An entry in Clayton County Deed Records, Vol. E, 364, records a trust deed given by Joseph Venus and Mathew Grieshaber to Henry Koch, in the amount of $920, dated August 14, 1849. This deed is in effect a mortgage on 320 acres of land which Koch sold that same day to the colony.

huff and turned to other fields of activity in Dubuque. Joseph Venus then became president of the colony.

Venus had been one of the early associates of Andreas Dietsch. In Europe he had been destined for the priesthood, but to the disappointment of his parents he had turned to communism and his family had severed all connections with him. He later became a blacksmith and emigrated to America.[7]

During Venus' presidency a constitution and charter were drawn up so that the colony now became a legal person capable of holding title to its possessions. From the "Articles of Association" we can get an idea of what the colonists wanted Communia to be. The purpose of the association was given as "Agriculture, Mechanical Arts and Trades, and such other industrial pursuits and business as said association may deem proper and desirable." The capital, consisting of farms and lands and their improvements, was valued at $3,000.

All members, regardless of original contributions, were to have equal interests and rights in the property and effects of the association, and there was to be no division of the property of the association except by unanimous consent. Members and their families were assured of maintenance and support during their lives; orphaned children of members would be maintained and educated by the association. New members were to be admitted after a trial period of three months and a favorable vote by two-thirds of the members. If a member should want to withdraw, his original investment in the association was to be repaid without interest, one-third at the time of separation, the next third at the end of one year, and the last third at the end of two years after withdrawing. Expulsion was authorized for failure to observe the rules of the association and for immoral conduct, but it required a two-thirds vote; payment of claims was to be the same as for members voluntarily leaving.

An administrative committee consisting of president, vice-president, and secretary was created and given the duty of supervising the carrying out of the constitution, conducting business, and making reports every three months. Regular meetings were to be held every Saturday.[8]

[7] Information on the life of Joseph Venus comes from a clipping from the Elkader *Nord-Iowa Herold*, Feb. [?], 1880, and from letters to the author from Miss Louise Liers, Clayton, Iowa, the granddaughter of Joseph Venus.

[8] The Articles of Association of the Communia Colony are recorded in the Clayton

In 1850 a far-reaching connection began between the colony and Dietsch's old friend, Wilhelm Weitling. A tailor by trade, Weitling knew well the troubles of the skilled workers who were being depressed and displaced to an ever-increasing extent by improved machinery. To escape Prussian military service, he had left his home and for years had followed his trade in various parts of Europe. As a member of a German socialist organization in Paris he had published his first political treatise in 1839. This was followed in 1842 by his chief work, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*, issued in Vevey, Switzerland. Through this book Weitling gained a prominent place among socialist thinkers and planners.

The *Garantien* proposes a communist Utopia which, however — in distinction from previous Utopias, including the one of Andreas Dietsch — does not depend for its realization on the good will of capitalists. In the *Garantien* a worker speaks for the workers. To be sure, Weitling was better at pointing out the faults of the existing system than at reconstructing a better one or at suggesting remedies, chief of which he considered a somewhat hazy revolution and the coming of a messiah, "greater than the first."

Having been expelled from Switzerland, Weitling had come to the United States where he had organized the German skilled workers in the larger cities of the East into an "Arbeiterbund" or Workingmen's League. The publication of the League was *Die Republik der Arbeiter*, which Weitling and a small staff edited, first as a monthly, then as a weekly, and toward the end of the League again as a monthly.

For the purpose of extending the influence of the Workingmen's League, Weitling had called a Workers' Congress that met in Philadelphia, October 22–28, 1850. One of the resolutions adopted at this meeting was that the League would foster colonies in conjunction with the already existing exchange associations operated by the League in the larger eastern cities. (These exchange associations were shops and stores run by the League

County Deed Records, Vol. F, 137–9. Although the constitution was dated July 4, 1850, it was not given to the recorder of Clayton County until July 31, 1850. The signers were: Joseph Venus, Johan Enderes, Frederich Weis, H. Pape, F. Nagel, K. Kopp, Jacob Ponsar, Lewis Weinel, Johann Taffy, Henry Koenig, Michael Brumme, Joseph Gremfer, W. Krisinger. The schedule of property belonging to the "association of the Community [*sic*] Colony" (in the deed records the terms Communia and Community are used interchangeably) lists the land given in footnote 5 as already in possession of the colony when the actual transfers were not made until August 19 and November 16, 1850.

members and mainly patronized by them.) At the height of its deveolpment the League had some twenty branches throughout the country and Weitling claimed for it a membership of close to 2,000 in New York alone.[9] Each member had to pay an initiation fee of $10.00 and monthly dues of $1.00. The fund of money built up by these payments was to be used for sickness insurance, old age pensions, the publication of the *RdA*, and for propaganda.[10]

The November, 1850, issue of the *RdA* reported on the colonization resolution; the December issue contained a lengthy and favorable account of life in Communia, written by F. Weis, and the German version of the constitution. It seems probable that the Communia colonists had appealed to Weitling for support before the meeting of the Workers' Congress. Other Utopian settlements were mentioned, often in great detail, in the pages of *RdA*, and possible union of Communia with some of them (the Liberty colony near Communia, Cabet's Icaria, and Keil's Bethel) were considered.

Early in October, 1851, Weitling finally saw Communia. "For the first time," he wrote, "I am standing on the holy soil of a fraternal community whose inhabitants have undertaken to live, not half and one-sidedly, but wholly for the sacred cause for which you, tried and true communists, together with me and Father Cabet have fought in Europe for years."[11] The colonists now officially joined the Workingmen's League. Weitling reported that he had drawn up the contract of union on the spur of the moment, but no one objected; again he praised the splendid spirit of the Swiss communists and those trained by them.

In the same issue of the *RdA* there follows a description of the colony, the first of many that were to come. Communia was located about fifty miles northwest of Dubuque and five miles south of Elkader; it lay between the Turkey and the Volga rivers in a healthful hilly region that knew neither cholera nor malaria, and where there were no snakes. It could

[9] *RdA*, Dec. 11, 1852. Weitling's figures are always apt to be rather optimistic. Heinrich Richter, also writing in the *RdA*, Jan. 17, 1852, gives only "close to 1000"; Weitling, *RdA*, Oct. 22, 1853, gives 300 members and a financial strength of $10,000 as of May, 1852, and 500 members and $17,000 as of November, 1853.

[10] Details concerning the League are to be found throughout the pages of *RdA*; cf. also Hermann Schluter, *Die Anfange der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1907); and Wittke's biography of Weitling.

[11] *RdA*, Oct. 18, 1851. Unless stated, material from *RdA* is by Weitling.

easily be reached by steamboat from Dubuque or any other Mississippi River town; the closest landing was at Clayton.

The colony was said to own, at that time, about 1,240 acres of paid land which was located in such a way that about 3,000 acres more would be available if they should be needed later. There was a two-story frame house, 60 by 35 feet large and worth $1,000, which contained five large apartments for families. The communal dining hall was connected with the basement kitchen through a dumbwaiter. Galleries or porches surrounded the outside of the house, while the attic contained the dormitory for the unmarried men. Other improvements and possessions, especially livestock, reportedly brought the value of the colony to $6,500. Debts, amounting to only $500, would be paid from the deposits of new members. Of the eighteen male members in the colony at that time, twelve had paid in $2,300.

Though the future of the colony seemed assured, Weitling found no opulence. A visit to nearby Liberty colony gave him an idea of the difficulties which all settlers had to overcome at the outset. Toward the end of the account Weitling made optimistic plans for Communia: cattle, hog, and sheep raising was to be started; a gristmill was to be built on the Volga River; more land was to be cleared and vineyards planted.[12]

Close contact thus having been established between the League and Communia, Weitling continued his "Bundesreise" — trip in behalf of the League — but he now also busied himself in the interest of Communia. When he stopped off at Nauvoo, Illinois, Cabet happened to be away, but from what he saw Weitling considered union with the Icarians "neither possible nor useful" — the Icarians were too poor. After a visit to Economy, Pennsylvania, Weitling exclaimed: "Ah, if the League had this town, the workers from Pittsburgh would join us in six months and the majority of all workers in one year!"[13] From various branches of the League in the cities he visited, Weitling sent enthusiastic accounts of the willingness of local groups to support the colony at Communia with money and manpower.

Weitling's concern with Communia is quite accurately reflected in the space given to the discussion of its needs and problems in the pages of the

[12] *Idem.*

[13] *RdA*, Nov. 8, Dec. 6, 1851; Feb. 26, 1853.

RdA. The issue of December 6, 1851, contained two poems by Weitling on Communia; both are modeled on poems by Goethe.[14] The same issue also contains an article by Weitling on successful colonization. As the cardinal virtues of good colonists he stressed hard work, frugality, satisfactory habits, and joyous cooperation. In the society of the future — and he took a Utopian colony to be the beginning of that — vocal and instrumental music and a greatly improved theater were to be utilized for educational and conciliatory purposes so that church and university would no longer dominate these fields. The education of the children, however, should follow the principles laid down by Fourier. Penal institutions would become unnecessary in time. From these echoes of his *Garantien*, Weitling made a quick transition to the specific needs of Communia: more brick houses, $3,000 in cash, and a good leader with a plan. The inference was, of course, that Weitling thought of himself as the right leader.

It was Weitling's plan now to make League funds available to Communia so that the colony (once it had grown into a sizeable town to be called Communia City or Munzerstadt) could become the home and headquarters of the League, a haven for its aged, and the place of publication of the *RdA*. By advertising in the *RdA* Weitling hoped to attract the right kind of new colonists to Communia, namely able-bodied, unmarried young craftsmen. These were invited to stay a few months in the colony, contribute their labor as a gift to the League, and if they liked life there their initiation fee — $100 per adult, $50 for each child — would be reduced.[15]

In July of 1852 Weitling came back to Communia for the purpose of adjusting the charter of the Communia Association to conform with the constitution of the Workingmen's League, but several untoward things happened. One of the new colonists from Cincinnati, Adam Freund, who had taken sick on the trip west, died in the colony;[16] then a man named Thompson, the owner of a number of enterprises in and around Elkader, had bought a mill site on the Turkey River.[17] Although Weitling does not mention it, this would mean serious competition for the gristmill projected

[14] One of these poems is printed, along with other material by Weitling, in William Frederick Kamman, *Socialism in German-American Literature* (Americana-Germanica, No. 24, Philadelphia, 1917), 71–3; cf. also Kamman's note "Communia" in *Monatshefte*, 40:423-4 (1948).

[15] *RdA*, May 15, Feb. 14, 1852; the names are mentioned in *RdA*, Sept. 3, 1853.

[16] *RdA*, July 10, 1852. Freund was buried "in our vineyard that did not prosper."

[17] *RdA*, July 17, 1852; the Thompson mill was built and is standing today (1948).

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for Communia. But worst of all, the seven women in the colony — three wives of founders and four newcomers — were constantly quarreling, and thereby in turn causing trouble among the men.[18] All the dissatisfaction and trouble came to a head when Weitling asked the president, Griesinger (identical with W. Krisinger who signed the Articles of Association) for a deed of trust in the amount of $5,000 for one year at 10 per cent interest. This deed of trust, a mortgage on the colony, was meant to secure the investment of the League and its members. Griesinger refused to give the deed of trust.

At about the same time Joseph Venus had to go to Dubuque to make some purchases and to pay a debt which had to be paid before a deed of trust could be validly given. The nature of the debt is not revealed, but the colony still owed Koch.[19] When Venus and Weitling, who accompanied him, returned on the following day, Griesinger had changed his mind to the extent that he was willing to sign a simple note for the amount; but that was not satisfactory to Weitling. We are not told whether it was the regular time of elections in Communia or whether Griesinger resigned in protest; but an election was held in which eight members voted for the man willing to give the deed of trust, five for Griesinger. Thereupon Griesinger and three other members declared they were willing to leave the colony within twenty-four hours if their investments were returned to them. Although the Articles of Association specified that this money need not be paid at once, $750 was immediately refunded and the disgruntled men left, together with their cantankerous wives. Griesinger had threatened to travel up and down the country, but he seems to have spoken only to the League branch at Cincinnati.[20]

Weitling's demand for the deed of trust in the amount of $5,000 appears only partially justified in view of the fact that the League so far, on Weitling's own admission, had invested collectively only $1,950. Even if the total indebtedness of Communia at the time was $4,080, these debts were — aside from the $1,950 — individually owed to members of the League, not to the League itself.[21] One of the defects of Weitling's character be-

[18] *RdA*, Aug. 21, 1852; written in retrospect.

[19] Cf. Clayton County Deed Records, Vol. E, 364; schedule of payments.

[20] *RdA*, July 24, Oct. 16, 30, Dec. 18, 1852.

[21] *RdA*, July 24, 1852; but in *RdA*, Aug. 14, 1852, the indebtedness to the League is given as $1,700 and the total indebtedness as $5,666, both as of July 30, 1852.

came apparent in the unbusinesslike handling of the demand for the deed of trust: obstinate insistence on what he had come to see as the right way. In this insistence he was not only willing but at times eager to disregard not only the amenities but even parliamentary or legal restrictions at first acknowledged by him.[22] By his intransigence he usually gained no more than a temporary advantage while he lost the long-range benefits of the esteem and trust of his fellow men.

The break between parties had been temporarily repaired by the removal of Griesinger and his followers. Weitling stayed for about a month in Communia, working on the new constitution which was to safeguard the investments of the League and of indivdual members, and to put the administration of the colony beyond the vagaries of officeholders. The deed of trust was given "by unanimous consent" on July 22, 1852, and from various letters we learn that the colony was prospering in a modest way; but at the same time Weitling noted that not all departments were doing equally well and that all might do better. The corn, for example, would have yielded a larger return if the colonists had planted it in time. A farmer in the "corrupt and religious outside world" would have plowed his fields on Sunday — but not the colonists. He concluded that the "stimulus of egotistic self-interest" that governs society at large ought to some extent be reinstated in the colony, but that, as in the exchange associations of the League, this principle must be made to operate in favor of the workers instead of against them as in the outside world. The colony, then, according to Weitling's latest plan, was to be run like a combine of exchange associations, in which non-members could also enjoy the benefits of a planned society. The influence of Communia would thus extend over several counties, and the customers would join the colony when they saw how well its economic system worked.[23]

After an illness, during which he stayed at the home of a neighbor of the colony, the German farmer Michael Baumann at Fork Landing,[24] Weitling left without having achieved complete union between the Communia Association and the Workingmen's League of America. His New Year's message to the colony was largely evasive of the underlying troubles; in it he

[22] *RdA*, Aug. 14, 1852. Weitling calls Griesinger a "parliamentarian monkey." *RdA*, Dec. 11, 1852, contains the phrase "democratic parliamentary humbug."

[23] *RdA*, July 31, Aug. 14, 1852.

[24] *RdA*, March 5, 1853.

was looking forward hopefully toward a better future. The women were lectured on harmony and industry, the children on education. (They would soon get a man teacher, a remark that may indicate that a woman teacher had kept school at Communia.) The basis for religious instruction was to be the love of Christ and of neighbor as Weitling had expressed the idea in a poem entitled "Der kleine Kommunist."[25]

In February of 1853, in answer to a letter from Philadelphia which was indicative of anxiety and perhaps mistrust, Weitling expressed dissatisfaction with the colonists in Communia. He had written to Communia on January 21 concerning three problems: (1) Would the colonists keep their promises and commitments? (2) Would they give up their claims to $2,000 (recently reduced to $1,600 by the renunciations of three old members)? and (3) Would they give a deed of trust to him, Wilhelm Weitling, for a mill recently purchased? As yet he had received no answer from the colony. Meanwhile he would be glad to hear of a suitable site in the East or Middle West on which to start a model colony. By March his chagrin with these seven or eight colonists at Communia who were preventing the complete union with the League had gone so far that he threatened an end to further financial support, to have the colony sold at forced sale for the recovery of the $5,000 secured by the deed of trust, and to found another colony with the now experienced League members in Communia who had advanced beyond the position of the former New Helvetians and their friends in St. Louis. Weitling even went so far as to accuse the old settlers of corrupting the new ones; he called them "stupid as hogs and unfeeling as stones" in social affairs and censured them for their indifference to music and the theater.[26] Letters from the colony published in the *RdA* remained cheerful, but they were written by newcomers.[27]

Some twenty-five of these newcomers had come to Communia in the fall of 1852 and all apartments were filled. In an inventory made by Simon

[25] This poem is reprinted by Kamman, *Socialism in German-American Literature*. Weitling wrote, *RdA*, Jan. 8, 1853: "The teachings of Jesus form the nucleus of our morals; these morals find their practical application in the relationship of work to pleasure as well as of the rights and duties of the colonists."

[26] *RdA*, Feb. 26, Mar. 5, 1853.

[27] An exception is the critically quite objective letter by Sigmund Heuberger, *RdA*, Mar. 5, 1853. In notes to this letter Weitling explains that legally the League did not yet own the colony, that illness had prevented him from completing the merger, and that the present arrangement was provisional only.

Schmidt, a tanner by trade and an old-time Swiss friend of Weitling's, the resources of Communia were given as $10,958.95, while the liabilities were recorded as $7,881.62, both as of December 20, 1852. The surplus was thus $3,077.33, but for some reason Schmidt had forgotten to include among the liabilities $640 owed to outsiders. A later correction does not entirely clear up this point. The League as such had invested $3,990 in Communia. (This money was transferred from the New York headquarters of the League by drafts on a bank in Dubuque; considerable amounts of cash must have been on hand in the colony at times.) Individual investments by League members amounted to $6,891.62. The inventory lists a library of 75 volumes, valued at $10.[28]

A sawmill together with forty acres of land had been bought in December, 1852, from one Stephen Bartle for the amount of $1,000.[29] This mill was located on Bear Creek in Volga Township, six miles from the main colony, and the road to it was execrable. The colonists wanted to use the sawmill in the building of the gristmill and hoped to make some money by sawing and curing lumber for neighboring farmers. But the supply of timber gave out sooner than expected, the machinery needed repairs and finally broke down, and as early as December, 1853, Weitling called the sawmill the worst investment that could possibly have been made.[30]

One of the most joyful days in the short history of Communia was the Fourth of July celebration in 1853. Forty guests from Elkader together with some musicians had come and the members that had left in a huff the year before had sent a barrel of beer "to drown the old hatred in." Square dance music was all the small band was able to furnish, and when the Germans requested some waltzes, the musicians reluctantly and repetitiously produced "Ach, du lieber Augustin." Most of the guests celebrated until five in the morning, at which time some of the Communia lads sent them on their way with "Katzenmusik." The following day was a holiday too, but the afternoon was used for reading and discussing the new constitution composed by Weitling.[31]

[28] *RdA*, Jan. 8, Feb. 5, 1853.

[29] The location of the sawmill was NE¼ of NW¼, sec. 8, 92-4, and the price is given as the above amount in Clayton County Deed Records, Vol. H, 366. In the Dec., 1853, inventory, *RdA*, Jan. 14, 1854, the sawmill and with it at that time 80 acres of land was valued at $1,228.75.

[30] *RdA*, July 16, Dec. 10, 1853.

[31] *RdA*, July 16, 1853.

Weitling, who had been in the colony since March, 1853, had obtained the consent of all the old settlers for a change in the Articles of Association to combine them with the charter of the League. He had worked out the new charter and the judge at the county seat, Garnavillo at that time, had found it in harmony with state law. The new constitution reflected, Weitling believed: (1) the views current in Communia; (2) the constitution of the League proper; and (3) the requirements of good administration. The new system was to be put into effect gradually, on the farms certainly not until after the harvest; but it was already working in the sawmill.[32]

The constitution that was adopted — it was recorded in Garnavillo on July 23, 1853 as "Constitution of the Association called the Communia Workingmen's League"[33] — had sixty articles. The Articles of Association of the Colony were revoked and the purpose of the new association was given as "every kind of agricultural, industrial, commercial and other business and to distribute [the proceeds thereof] among the members and shareholders according to their proportional and equal interest for the comfort and well-being in sickness, infirmity and old age and to secure a common homestead so long as everyone complies to laws, bylaws and rules of the association."

All work and business of the association was to be let in contract except such work as had to be paid on an hourly basis. Administrative work was not to be paid at a higher rate than manual labor. Minimum rents of 10 per cent of the value of the property rented plus an additional percentage for depreciation were required, and such rent could be paid in scrip, in kind, or in improvements. In time of need all colonists were to help those in the colony who needed help. Pay for work or produce, in so far as bookkeeping did not take care of it, was to be in "store bills" (colony scrip). Goods for sale at the store were to be priced at 10 per cent above cost; goods not available at the store could be had only on special order from the administrator. Individual households could be established, but their cost had to be borne individually. At least one day's earnings each month was to be paid into the sick fund, from which the sick were to be supported unless the fund was exhausted. In that case the sick could draw on their own credits, but contributions for the sick fund would be doubled

[32] *RdA*, Apr. 16, July 2, 16, 1853.

[33] Clayton County Deed Records, Vol. I, 39ff. The constitution appeared also in the pages of the *RdA*.

for a fixed time. Children were required to attend school, where the educational program included the performance of some useful work. The members of the Board of Instruction were placed in charge of devising the curriculum.

Members of the Workingmen's League of six months' standing could, after a probation of three months and no protests, become shareholders of the Association. Those shareholders who had lent the Association at least $100 for ten years without interest were (if accepted by their equals) called trustees. A committee of these was to be elected annually to help with the administration of the colony. Trustees could also be called upon to make good financial deficits. The following administrative officers were to be elected annually by the committee of trustees: an administrator (who could appoint an agent to act in his behalf), a secretary, and a treasurer. The foremen in each branch were to be elected by the workers. The foremen, together with the administrator, the secretary, and the treasurer, formed the Central Group. Special divisions of this group were called Board of Arbitration, Board of Labor, and (with the addition of the teacher and the physician) the Board of Instruction. Specific duties were assigned and weekly meetings made mandatory.

Inventory was to be taken annually and a 10 per cent appreciation of the capital invested was to be declared from the improvements made, increase in livestock, etc. Ten per cent of this appreciation was to go into the pension fund, additional increase in value was to be divided between the loans of the trustees and the investments of the shareholders; but no money was to be returned until the expiration of the trusteeship, i. e., ten years. In case of dissolution, no one was to claim more than his original investment.

The document is dated July 23, 1853, and is signed by eight trustees: M. Baumann, administrator, who was interested with $1,300; Geo. Nehser, treasurer and foreman of the farm branch, $240; B. F. Weis, $228; J. M. Weick, $100; John Taffy, $100; Philip Arnold, $310; K. Kopp, $200; and J. Klopfer, $100. The signatures of fourteen shareholders follow: H. Pape; G. Forst; C. Schoch; J. Venus; Anton Weis; John Detzer, foreman of the industrial branch; John G. Smith; H. Krieg; G. Ponsar; G. Marxer; Ludwig Nehser; George Theodor Weick; W. Weitling, agent; L. Arnold, foreman of the building branch. An appended schedule of property lists 1,440

acres of land[34] which was valued at $6,725; stock and teams were given as worth $2,443; mechanical tools and farming equipment, $1,057; merchandise and goods on hand, $920; materials for building, $630; furniture, etc., $246. The total value was estimated as $11,021.

In spite of its length, the new constitution left many things vague and open to doubt; but even when one assumes that these matters might have been clarified through bylaws, Weitling cannot be absolved from the charge that Mehring has made, namely that he was unnecessarily theorizing and impractical in this document.[35] Of the rather simple agrarian communism of the Swiss Utopians, not much was left. The essentially new feature of the constitution was the admission of capitalistic remuneration into a scheme that wanted to retain socialistic aspects throughout. The complicated system of trusteeship with interestless ten-year loans but with financial and managerial responsibility through elections, the interlocking sick and pension funds, and the overlapping boards with extensive responsibilities — all these (and many more not mentioned in this brief summary) were arrangements imposed on a group of people who did not have the same fervent desire to reform the world according to the ideas of Weitling.

Although debates took place before the adoption of the constitution — Simon Schmidt is mentioned as speaking against some phase of it — few changes seem to have been made. Since the members of the Communia Association had to vote unanimously for dissolution of the old order, the opposition was overcome mostly by financial threats.[36] Moreover, Weitling

[34] The following tracts of land were listed:

1.	NE¼	of	NW¼	sec.	8, 91-4	14.	NE¼	of	NE¼,	sec.	18, 92-4
2.	SE¼	"	NW¼	"	8, 91-4	15.	NE¼	"	SW¼	"	18, 92-4
3.	N½	"	SE¼	"	7, 92-4	16.	W½	"	SE¼	"	18, 92-4
4.	SE¼	"	NE¼	"	7, 92-4	17.	SE¼	"	SE¼	"	18, 92-4
5.	S½	"	SE¼	"	7, 92-4	18.	N½	"	NE¼	"	19, 92-4
6.	SE¼	"	SW¼	"	7, 92-4	19.	SE¼	"	NW¼	"	4, 92-5
7.	NE¼	"	SW¼	"	7, 92-4	20.	SE¼	"	—	"	12, 92-5
8.	SWfr¼	"	SW¼	"	7, 92-4		(E½	"	SE¼	"	12, 92-5)
9.	SW¼	"	NW¼	"	8, 92-4		(NW¼	"	SE¼	"	12, 92-5)
10.	NW¼	"	NW¼	"	17, 92-4		No. 20 comprises these.				
11.	NE¼	"	NW¼	"	18, 92-4	21.	NE¼	"	SE¼	"	13, 92-5
12.	SE¼	"	NWfr¼	"	18, 92-4	22.	NW¼	"	—	"	25, 92-5
13.	NW¼	"	NE¼	"	18, 92-4	23.	W½	"	SW¼	"	25, 92-5
						24.	NE¼	"	SW¼	"	25, 92-5
(The list has been rearranged here.)						25.	SE¼	"	SE¼	"	26, 92-5

[35] Wilhelm Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit* (Berlin, Germany, 1908), xliv.

[36] *RdA*, Mar. 5, 1853.

seems to have thought, at least for a while, that the new constitution of Communia was also a charter for the entire Workingmen's League of America, since there appeared, in the *RdA*, advertisements of the League as "a mutual exchange-, colonization-, association-and-aid society chartered in Iowa."[37] The extended purpose which the constitution was thus to serve did not contribute to its usefulness as the basic law of Communia.

The work of writing the constitution and having it adopted over, Weitling left the colony about September, 1853, and went on another "Bundesreise." In Detroit, Philadelphia, and other places, he was once again active in the interest of Communia. Aside from securing money from trustees for the gristmill and other projects, such as a brewery and a distillery, he promoted building associations with lottery features.[38] City lots were to be given free by the League and the work of building the houses was to be done by the craftsmen already in Communia. The lottery, in which eventually everyone would win in consecutive years, was an important part of the building association. Rather characteristically, a projected constitution of twenty-four articles was about the only thing that came of the scheme. In all his letters to the *RdA* an enthusiastic tone prevailed.

From the Louisville, Baltimore, Newark, Cincinnati, and Detroit groups of the League letters had come to Weitling which urged him to become the administrator of Communia because he was regarded as the ablest man in the League. But in New York, R. Kreter, the treasurer of the entire League, disagreed and resigned in protest. Immediately thereafter there appeared a declaration by Kreter that he had opposed Weitling as a candidate for the position of administrator solely because he thought Weitling could be of greater use to the League by traveling and getting new members.[39] An unpleasant controversy arose, not all of which comes to light in the pages of *RdA*. Nevertheless, at the first election under the new constitution, in November, 1853, Weitling was elected administrator with only one dissenting vote.[40]

Having been summoned to his new position by telegraph, Weitling was none too happy to assume the responsibility, for considerable trouble had already developed. The sawmill and the bakery had been operating at a

[37] *RdA*, Oct. 22, 1853.
[38] *RdA*, Aug. 8, Oct. 1, 1853.
[39] *RdA*, Oct. 1, 8, 1853.
[40] *RdA*, Dec. 10, 1853.

loss, seven-year contracts had been let on certain farms at unfavorable rents, and wages a third higher than those prevailing in the outside world had been charged the colony by some of its members. A reckless disregard for communal welfare had been shown and egotism had asserted itself. Goods for the store had been bought at too high a price and were being sold too cheaply; exorbitant prices were being charged for small jobs; the mill dam that was under construction was progressing too slowly and cost too much; machinery for the gristmill was lying out in the open untended; confusion reigned in the setting of prices for goods, rents, and services; and, to top all complaints, the storekeeper had put whiskey in a vinegar barrel. Weitling had to do his work in a room crowded by three other men and with a new baby next door. Dissatisfaction with things in general made him paint a gloomy picture for the future of the colony. The disorder would surely find its concrete expression in the inventory, he predicted.[41]

But suddenly Weitling forgot his troubles. Some of the workers excavating for the gristmill dam found what appeared to be silver ore. Unfortunately this discovery proved to be something less than expected, for not much more is heard about it. At that time there were 79 persons living at Communia; 35 members of League and colony with a total of 16 wives and 23 children; the rest were outside help that was temporarily employed.[42]

Instead of trying to create order out of near chaos by parliamentary methods, with himself as a trusted leader, Weitling apparently wanted to establish order autocratically. Although he was aware that his popularity would not be enhanced by this procedure, he let it be known that he "despised victories of the majority in matters which common sense and a man's honor should determine automatically in every man." Discussion and debate he regarded as sacrifices on his part which he had to make "since we live in a democracy, and who knows what it may be good for?"[43] Harmony of purpose was hard to achieve under an administrator so suspicious of the intentions and motives of his fellow Utopians and so cynical of dem-

[41] *RdA*, Dec. 10, 1853. This letter is especially gloomy. The one published in *RdA*, Dec. 17, 1853, is much more cheerful and was intended to counteract to some extent the letter of Dec. 10.

[42] *RdA*, Dec. 17, 24, 1853.

[43] *RdA*, Dec. 24, 1853.

ocratic procedure. Weitling, full of the best plans, and confident of his superior insight into every kind of business, soon considered himself the martyr of stupidity, pettiness, and rancor. Apparently he never realized how many of his disappointments were to a large extent of his own making.

Occasionally Weitling escaped from his chagrin into physical work. He helped in the earth moving on the mill dam, for the construction of which a new site had been chosen and acquired. In buying this land, Weitling had encountered a difficulty that was later to trouble him. When he entered the land at the Land Office in Dubuque he gave as the name of the purchaser the Communia Workingmen's League, but was told that mere legal persons could not become grantees under the law; so the mill land was entered (as the early Communia Association land had also been) in the name of one individual, in this case, Wilhelm Weitling. If he had known it, he could have entered the land in his name as trustee of the Workingmen's League and spared himself much trouble; but at the time he did not know it.[44]

On December 17, 1853, water flowed for the first time over the mill dam for whose completion even outside labor had been hired.[45] Other improvements in the neighborhood of the mill were to be a store and dwelling, stables for horses and oxen, a school building, lime kiln, and carpentry shop — in short, the beginning of a little town.

The inventory taken in November of 1853 and itemized for the different farms and enterprises showed a credit of $19,942.49 and a debit of $17,-160.84 — a surplus of $2,781.65. Weitling's pessimism regarding the financial condition of the colony had been almost entirely borne out, for the surplus consisted chiefly of the previous year's gain ($2,219), while only $562.65 could be credited to 1852-1853. Until July of 1853 every member had received a monthly wage of $6.00, but since adoption of the new constitution wages had risen to $1.00 for eight to ten hours of unskilled work and $1.25 for skilled labor. The near deficit was, according to Weitling, due primarily to overcharging and inefficiency in the actual performance of the work.[46]

On January 6, 1854, Weitling resigned as administrator of the colony.

[44] *RdA*, Feb. 11, May 13, 1854.

[45] *RdA*, Jan. 1, 1854.

[46] The inventory was published together with Weitling's remarks in *RdA*, Jan. 14, 1854.

His election to that office, he complained, had not been occasioned by trust in his ability, but rather by the rumor that the colony would be cut off from further financial support by the Workingmen's League of America unless he were elected. In such an atmosphere of distrust and ill will he could no longer benefit the colony and had therefore resigned. The colonists, Weitling maintained, were acting as if they were the center of the entire League (a point of view which not long ago Weitling himself seems to have held, although his "center-of-the-League" concept was organizational rather than financial). Moreover Weitling resented the attempts to force him to transfer title of the mill land to the colony. In connection with these attempts, accusations of fraud and misuse of League funds were made against him, and threats of physical violence were joined with threats of criminal prosecution in court.[47]

Weitling had also encountered difficulties in renewing the expired deed of trust in the amount of $10,000. (This deed of trust had been given at the time of reorganization and is not identical with the one that caused the trouble at the time Griesinger left.) Weitling had given the instrument to Heinrich Richter in Communia who was to hold it until the entire League had been chartered in the East. Then a new deed of trust was to have been given in exchange for the old one, but made out to the newly-chartered League. While Weitling was away, Richter had had the deed of trust recorded as paid, an act invalidated by the fact that the instrument had not been signed by Weitling, but one which showed bad faith.[48] This had taken place in the summer and fall of 1853.

In New York things were not going well either. Treasurer Kreter had continued his agitation against Weitling, who now announced that he would gladly leave all matters affecting the welfare of the League to majority decisions, provided the League could benefit by them. He did not think it could and insisted on a clause printed in every membership booklet: "In case of danger to the unity of the League, all members shall trust in the founder, the Central Commission appointed by him, and the measures instituted by him." On the basis of this proviso and his own judgment, Weitling hoped to settle all difficulties in two months. He offered reconciliation to Kreter, called for renewed confidence in the League, and suggested a mora-

[47] *RdA*, Jan. 21, Feb. 4, 11, 1854.

[48] *RdA*, Feb. 4, 1854.

torium on all disbursements. All holdings of the League and of the colony were to be transferred to a new organization, to be called the "Workingmen's League, an Association for the Purpose of Colonization," and a new start was to be made.[49]

The editor of the *RdA*, Leopold Alberti, resigned, charging that Weitling was interfering with the freedom of the press by suppressing certain news from Communia. At the same time a number of League members in New York formed a group whose aim it was to found another colony, to be called Communia II, in upstate New York. This group, highly critical of Weitling, seceded and weakened the League treasury considerably.[50]

A questionnaire to the various branches of the League resulted in a decision that Weitling was to hold the mill land in his own name, to charter the League in its entirety, to obtain a satisfactory deed of trust from the colony, and to transfer the mill land to the entire League, but nothing was said about how these decisions were to be implemented.[51]

Meanwhile at Communia a certain Brandenberger had been elected administrator. As such he wrote a number of letters to Weitling which Weitling printed verbatim with all their mistakes in spelling and grammar.[52] As Mehring has pointed out, this action of Weitling's was unbecoming and malicious, for he wanted to show by it that Brandenberger was unintelligent and hence unfit for the job of administrator.[53] In his first letters, Brandenberger ignored the existing troubles: the mill building was to be finished, new members were asked to apply for admission to Communia, and life at the colony was reported as being rather pleasant. Weitling, deploring Brandenberger's ignorance of the English language, was sure a man who knew English could, if he wanted to, stop the suit which the executive committee at Communia had started against Weitling because he had retained title to the mill land which he had supposedly bought with funds belonging to the colony. An executive committee had not been authorized by the constitution and was therefore illegal; the administrator could arrange to have the suit dropped.[54] Brandenberger got even with

[49] *RdA*, Jan. 21, 28, 1854.

[50] *RdA*, Jan. 28, Feb. 4, 1854; Jan. 13, 1855.

[51] *RdA*, Feb. 4, 11, Mar. 25, 1854.

[52] *RdA*, Feb. 11, 25, 1854.

[53] Weitling, *Garantien . . .*, xlvi.

[54] This suit is C. W. M. L. *v.* W. Weitling, Clayton County District Court, Judg-

Weitling for his malicious treatment by making the equally malicious accusation that Weitling had always wanted to steal the workingman's hard-earned money.[55]

Reaction to the Communia trouble was violent in all branches of the League. Resolutions, circulars, and letters of varying degrees of acrimony made the rounds — Weitling mentions his collection of several thousand — or were printed in the pages of the *RdA* which, as its publication grew less frequent, became more and more filled with matters concerning the colony dispute. Weitling went into great detail in chronicling the history of the colony and that of its feuds and factions. He went back to Dietsch's diary to prove that the New Helvetians had always been unable to get along with one another. The oldest settlers had always been a contentious lot and the League had merely inherited their quarrels. The League would have been better off if it had bought the colony outright instead of taking over inveterate disagreements.[56] The tenor of some of these writings degenerates into billingsgate at times, and name-calling, imputation of evil motives, rumor mongering and vilification are frequent.

In April, 1854, Weitling, who had been given power of attorney to act for the League, and a party of delegates from most of the larger League branches, went to Communia to try to bring about a peaceful settlement of the difficulties, for by this time many colonists wanted to leave Communia and to get their investments paid back. The instructions of the delegates were: (1) To get an itemized statement of the claims of each colonist. (2) All colonists were to furnish a deed of trust to the Workingmen's League of America in the amount the colony owed the League; the colonists were not to insist on special privileges as against the other members of the Workingmen's League of America. (3) Until the second provision was complied with, no one could receive payment. (4) Those whose claims had been paid were, if asked, to leave the colony. (5) Those not paid entirely would receive deeds of trust from the League and might stay in the colony as long as the other colonists did not object. (6) Only those

ment Docket, Vol. A, 8. The judgment was for the defendant, but the papers were removed from the vertical file in 1863 by attorneys Noble and Bechmeister and apparently never returned. These are not the only papers lost in this connection.

[55] *RdA*, June 17, 1854.

[56] *RdA*, Oct. 7, 1854. Weitling's summary of this date is in many ways the clearest statement of developments until then.

having permission from a special commission might live on the mill land. (7) Deeds of trust would be given by and to Weitling as attorney and trustee of the Workingmen's League of America. (8) At the time only $1,000 to $2,000 would be paid out; later, $200 a month if demanded.

The delegates found that the colonists had diverse ideas. Most of them wanted to get their money and withdraw from the colony, where conditions had further deteriorated, if they were paid by July first of that year. Only one was willing to leave part of his claim against a deed of trust. No itemized claims were given, and all colonists set the date of payment after the mill land suit was expected to have been decided; this Weitling took as evidence of bad faith. Only two wanted to continue living in Communia. On their return to Dubuque, the delegates decided to let their attorney, James Burt, represent their interests in the lawsuits that were sure to follow.

Weitling now thought it best to let the law take its course, to recover what could be recovered if a sale was the decision of the court. "Forget that we once had brothers in Communia. What the courts give us [of our possessions there], let us regard as a gift which is worth less to us than one single zealous new member of League."[57] He asserted that the Workingmen's League of America had been set back by two years through the colony trouble, but he set great store by the second Worker's Congress which was to meet in 1855. Since the mill land was now assured (it had been correctly entered at the time Weitling and the delegates were in Dubuque), he called for new loans, so that millwrights and carpenters could complete the mill.

But as if internal strife occasioned by Communia had not been enough to bring the entire League to the brink of chaos, Nature now also did her share: a flood, caused by torrential rains, inundated the valley of the Volga River and washed out the foundation of the mill so that the wall collapsed. The dam itself had come through without serious damage, but unless it was reinforced soon it too would "go down the river."[58] Unless he were well paid, no colonist was willing to undertake the repair.

Since no more money was forthcoming from the Workingmen's League of America, the colonists sold livestock and other goods so that those leaving would have travel money. Also they inquired at the county seat

[57] *RdA*, May 13, 1854.

[58] *RdA*, June 17, 1854, Brandenberger's report.

about the probable success of a petition for dissolution of the colony. Weitling's reply was neither reassuring nor hopeful: as for paying the colonists now, he would rather "go with a sackful of meat among ravenous wolves than with money among the colonists." The salient point seems, however, to have been that there was not enough money left. The mill construction had cost until then $6,000 and there had been many other large expenses. Out of the chaos that was Communia, Weitling only hoped to save enough to take care of those old and faithful members who would be entitled to a pension. The mill land was to become the site of homes for the old people of the League. Money might again become available to the present colonists if the deed of trust, fraudulently recorded as paid, was retracted and new, valid acknowledgements of indebtedness substituted.[59]

B. F. Weis charged that Weitling had corrupted the communistic ideal by introducing evil features of the system of capitalistic enterprise — contracts, wages, and rents. Weitling repudiated this by saying that, far from wanting to introduce these features, the colonists had been the ones who had insisted on them; he had at best but acquiesced in them. Communism, Weitling had previously said, had existed in Communia only on paper, but never in reality.[60]

Among all his prolix fulminations, Weitling made the suggestion that the colonists regain their honest name with the rest of the League by giving a good deed of trust. The colonists might also enter their debt to the League (presumably in the form of a lien), transfer the entire colony to the League, and come to terms with it. The colony would then be administered by a committee of League members who would be responsible to the eastern Central Committee. The administrative committee would enforce strict order and the communistic principle would be carried out fully. Order, Weitling had insisted but a little while ago, was of primary importance in Utopian colonies and only when it had become second nature to people would they be ready for freedom.[61]

The League, Weitling emphasized, wanted peace and if the colonists were inclined to buy the colony they were welcome to it. The money needed to satisfy the immediate claims in October, 1854, amounted to

[59] *RdA*, June 17, July 15, 1854.

[60] *RdA*, June 24, Sept. 23, 1854.

[61] *RdA*, June 24, Oct. 28, Dec. 16, 1854.

$3,582, but because of claims arising from ten-year loans (which constitutionally would not fall due until 1862 but which would undoubtedly be called for sooner), the total amount needed would more likely be $6,363.[62] None of Weitling's suggestions were taken up by the colonists, who had now petitioned for dissolution.

In November of 1854, when three doughty souls had come from Cincinnati and New York in order to live in the colony, there was a sudden blaze of hope of satisfactory settlement. Brandenberger and several others were reported to have made up for their past mistakes by endeavoring to save the colony for the League. Money for use and distribution in the colony would be sent to Thomas Bayer, one of the three latest settlers.[63] But nothing beneficial resulted.

Inasmuch as almost all the source material on Communia comes from the *RdA*, of which Weitling was editor or publisher or both, the colonists' point of view is not directly ascertainable and therefore incompletely represented in this paper. The colonists did not want to lose their investments or see the fruits of years of their life's work in jeopardy. Their love of the communistic ideal may in many instances have been stronger when they were in Europe or in the cities of the East. Greater competition in the struggle for existence and technological unemployment for the skilled workers who composed the membership of the Workingmen's League of America lent a desirable aspect to theoretical communism. But things were different in the small towns of Iowa where the frontier had been not very long ago. Their communist beliefs slowly gave way when they saw that people no richer than they to start with were prospering on farms of their own all around them. On the other hand, craftsmen among them did not care to make the adjustment to farming and were unhappy in a predominantly agricultural colony. These soon left Communia. The reason that others did not leave was that they did not have the money to move. Inertia also did its share, while others wanted to stay in the neighborhood in case the colony was divided up. To others like Venus and Enderes, two New Helvetians, and Weis, the veteran of Company H, Communia had long ago become home in America. Weis stocked a small grocery store with $90 he had left from the sale of some livestock and carried on as

[62] *RdA*, Oct. 14, 1854.

[63] *RdA*, Nov. 4, Dec. 16, 1854.

best he could. He had been sickly for some time and died, at the age of thirty-eight, in 1860, before some semblance of order had reappeared in Communia.[64]

The colonists, in addition to being at odds with the League, were now divided into two factions. The one, consisting of the old-timers Venus, Ponsar, Weis, Enderes, Pape, the two Nehsers, Kopp, Marxer, and Schmitz, was suing for dissolution of the colony. The other faction, consisting of all others except the three most recent arrivals, wanted to get their money in the division or dissolution of the colony. The three new arrivals were still neutral.[65]

In November, 1854, Communia had two administrators: Venus for the dissolutionists, Brandenberger for the anti-dissolutionists. The latter had sworn out a warrant to stop Venus from selling colony property, but Weitling discredited the motives of the anti-dissolutionists as basically selfish.[66] Both administrators were subpoenaed to appear in court in the case of Lewis Weinel, a member who had left Communia in October, 1852, and who had an unpaid claim of $122.26 or more against the colony.[67] No more reference is made to the case and it may be assumed that it was settled out of court.

The *RdA* suspended publication about the middle of 1855 (the last issue available to the writer being that of April, 1855); but about that time no more events of consequence are reported, though dilations of what might have been or what Communia could have become continued to take up considerable space until the end of the publication. The chief source of information after 1855 is the material in the court archives of Clayton County in Elkader. Much of this material has been lost so that it becomes difficult to piece out a connected history.

From an inventory dated April 4 and filed May 20, 1856, it becomes clear that John Garber and Dennis Quigley had been appointed receivers of "the corporation known as the Communia Workingmen's League." The original order of appointment could not be found. Garber's inventory lists six farms and then goes into great detail in enumerating the personal property on the farms, the sawmill, and in the store. Garber sold some goods

[64] *RdA*, Mar. 17, 1855; date of Weis' death from tombstone in Communia Cemetery.

[65] *RdA*, Feb. 17, 1855; alignment of factions as stated by Weitling.

[66] *RdA*, Feb. 17, 1855.

[67] Clayton County Archives, vertical file, 1854.

to members and paid out some cash. He left the household and kitchen furniture in the possession of the colonists; he rented rooms and farms and shops and allowed himself and committee $100 for thirty-five days of work and for mileage.[68]

In the May term of 1857, the District Court took notice of a suggestion that the real property of the Communia Workingmen's League was in danger of waste and damage. The two previously appointed "trustees," Garber and Quigley, were therefore ordered to take immediate possession of all real estate, to "keep" it by renting it, and "in general to do all and singular whatever is necessary to preserve and protect the same till our further order."[69] This direction of the court seems to be hardly more than a reassertion of the first court order. But in September, 1857, James Burt, counsel for the Communia Workingmen's League, requested that Eliphalet Price be appointed additional trustee. He was so appointed and required to furnish bond. James O. Crosby was requested for referee; Crosby was appointed and ordered to report what parties were interested and to what extent.[70]

Suits brought by Jacob Ponsar, B. F. Weis, and Henry Barnhart against the Workingmen's League (also called Communia Workingmen's League) were still pending when, on May 16, 1859, Reuben Noble, attorney for the state of Iowa, requested and was granted a change of venue to Dubuque County in the case of Iowa *v.* Workingmen's League.[71] Actually the case remained in Clayton County.

Nothing at all appears in the court records until January 23, 1864, when the Honorable Elias H. Williams, "sole presiding judge in the cause of Michael Bowman v. Communia Workingmen's League" (since the death of Weis, Baumann had probably become the plaintiff in place of Weis and Ponsar), made a number of important decisions. Quigley reported that he had recovered $317.18 and claimed $250 of this as his fee; he then requested and was granted his discharge as trustee and the fee was allowed.

John Garber reported that since his appointment as co-trustee he had kept the property together as well as possible. There is no mention of Price's or Crosby's activities in this connection. Beyond the taxes and

[68] *Ibid.*, 1856.

[69] *Ibid.*, 1857.

[70] Clayton County District Court Records, Vol. V, 113.

[71] *Ibid.*, 125, 299, 410.

expenses, the rent had not yielded anything. In order to satisfy other claims, the real estate would have to be sold, for which purpose Garber requested the appointment of a referee with authority to "settle and close up the business of the defendants and dissolve the association." The court then authorized Garber to sell the real estate of the defendants at either public or private sales, specified the methods of announcing the sales, and appointed Silas T. Woodward referee.

The referee's duty was to determine the validity of all claims made against the defendants and to report on them to the court. Jacob Nicklaus, William Bente, and Charles Mentzel were appointed appraisers and ordered to take an oath of faithfulness. They were to appraise the real estate by forty-acre tracts and deposit their appraisals in writing with the clerk of the district court. Private sales were to be made only above the appraised values. Garber was then directed to pay, settle, or compromise debts or claims against the defendants after they had been validated by Woodward and approved by the court, provided money was available.

In these payments first consideration was to be given to outside claimants; League members and members of the colony were to be considered secondly. Garber was also to collect all debts for the defendants and to pay all expenses arising from the closing up of their business. Woodward's report on claims was to be made on the first day of the September term of court. There follows a schedule of the real estate in the possession of the corporation "now or at the time of dissolution."[72] A final report of the referee or the trustee cannot be found and is presumably lost.

As a matter of record, all the real estate was eventually sold, much of it to colonists. Whether any money was left after the claims had been satisfied is a matter of conjecture. The Workingmen's League of America had disappeared and could hardly have benefitted.

Three colonists, Lewis Arnold, Frederick Peick, and Adolf Peick, had, in 1858, obtained judgments against W. Weitling amounting to $917.42. These were partially satisfied by the sheriff's sale of tract NW¼ of SE¼ sec. 25, 92-5, which brought $470.90 (court and execution costs not considered).[73]

[72] Clayton County District Court Records, Vol. D, 495; dated Jan. 23, 1864. The schedule of real estate is fairly close to that given in footnote 34.

[73] Clayton County District Court, Execution Docket, Vol. A, 185–7; also Judgment Docket, 153.

One of the colonists, Louis Reuther, is reported to have represented Clayton County in the state legislature for a term. Descendants of Venus, Enderes, Meder, Ponsar, Kopp, and others are among the inhabitants of Clayton County today, while gravestones in Communia cemetery bear witness to the resting place of many of the original settlers of the colony.[74]

The sociologist or political scientist inquiring into the reasons for the failure of almost all Utopian colonies may be interested in a list of the reasons for failure given by Weitling and some other League members. The list comes from the whole range of the *RdA* and includes utterances made in anger as well as others that may be considered more objective. (1) City dwellers make poor farmers and pioneers. (2) There was not enough money to get it off to a good start, nor to continue the experiment long enough. (3) Most of the settlers were not sufficiently imbued with the ideals of communism to make the necessary sacrifices. (4) Many settlers were not skilled enough in their respective trades. (5) There was not enough education and intelligence in the colony, and consequently a hatred of educated leaders. (6) Ancient grudges poisoned the minds of some colonists. (7) Argumentativeness and contentiousness, especially among the women, ruined the colony. (8) Existing capitalistic law was inimical to the colony. (9) The trustees did not take orders from the Central Committee of the League and from divided authority came chaos. (10) The new constitution opened the door to egotism and greed. (11) Weitling was incapable of administering the colony; he was mainly responsible for the waste of money on the mill construction. (12) The administrator never had enough authority.

Many of these reasons can be summed up in the observation that the verbal or written profession of communism or socialism does not make for communism or socialism or even altruism. Secondly, no immigrant socialist or communist enterprise has long endured in the United States; a strong and hopeful capitalism has invariably undermined the foundations of such enterprises before they were well established.

[74] Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa . . .*, 100. Mrs. Amalie Hofer Jerome, author of *My Century, the Story of Andreas Franz Hofer*, is a granddaughter of one of the latest arrivals at Communia.

DOCUMENTS

Romanzo Kingman's Pike's Peak Journal, 1859

Edited by Kenneth F. Millsap

The announcement in 1858 that gold had been discovered in the region vaguely known as Pike's Peak aroused once again the American gold fever. By the year 1859 the rush of the prospectors to this area began to assume "epic proportions."[1]

A picture of economic conditions in the United States in this period will perhaps give a clearer indication of why the gold fever became so contagious by 1859. First of all, the country had just experienced the severe financial panic of 1857. Factories were closed and men thrown out of work in the cities; farmers lost their markets; and many people lost their life savings as the result of the failure of banks, particularly in the Middle West. The prospect of recuperating their fortunes in a comparatively short time intrigued many people. Another element was the memory that still remained in the minds of the many people who had participated in the rush of the Forty-Niners to California.[2]

Gold was first discovered on Ralston Creek near present-day Denver in the spring of 1850 by a party of Cherokee Indians. The report in 1848 that gold had been found at Sutter's Mill in California had interested the Cherokees living in Indian Territory. They had already had considerable mining experience at their old homes in the gold fields of northern Georgia. On April 20, 1850, a company of Cherokees departed from near present Stillwell, Oklahoma, for the California gold fields. They stopped in Colorado enroute and it was this group that made the famous Ralston Creek discovery.[3] John Lowery Brown, a young Cherokee, kept a diary of this

[1] George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 13:163 (August, 1944). Richard A. Bartlett in his article entitled "Reception of the Pike's Peak Fever in the Chicago Press and Tribune," *Colorado Magazine*, 25:30 (January, 1948), states that nearly one hundred thousand people traveled to the Pike's Peak area in 1859.

[2] For a more detailed discussion of the economic conditions that favored the Pike's Peak gold rush see Percy Stanley Fritz, *Colorado, the Centennial State* (New York, 1941), 103-104.

[3] LeRoy R. Hafen, "Cherokee Goldseekers in Colorado, 1849-50," *Colorado Maga-*

expedition which serves today as a contemporary record of the finding near Denver.[4] After prospecting in California the Cherokees returned to their homes in Indian Territory, but many of them remembered the Ralston Creek discovery. Eventually, in 1858, a group returned to the Pike's Peak area and was joined by a party from Georgia led by William Green Russell. The destination of the combined Russell-Cherokee company was undoubtedly Ralston Creek.[5] Finding little gold, the majority of the company turned back, with the exception of thirteen men led by Russell. This group found gold in July on Cherry Creek, a branch of the South Platte.[6]

The news of the Russell discovery was at once circulated far and wide in the newspapers. One of the first notices in Iowa was in the Des Moines *Iowa Weekly Citizen* under the headline of "Gold Discovery in Kansas." This account reported that two men with "inferior implements washed out $600 in one week. . . ."[7] By October, 1858, the newspapers of Iowa were carrying the story that the gold discovery had been officially confirmed by James W. Denver, Governor of Kansas Territory, in a letter to the Secretary of Interior.[8] Luke Tierney of Iowa claimed that from $2.50 to $15 per day could be earned.[9]

However, by the spring of 1859, letters were being received that reported that the entire rush was a "humbug" and that it was ridiculous to believe that a fortune could be made quickly.[10] The reports in the newspapers became so conflicting that three eastern editors, Horace Greeley, Henry Villard, and Albert D. Richardson, went to the region to report the

zine, 15:101–109 (May, 1938). See also a discussion of the possibility that the discovery was made in 1849 rather than 1850 in LeRoy R. Hafen (ed.), *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859* (Vol. 9, *Southwest Historical Series*, Glendale, Cal., 1941), 34–7.

[4] The entire diary of Brown has been published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 12:177–213 (June, 1934). The diary records the discovery of gold on Ralston Creek but mentions one Ralston as the original discoverer (p. 190).

[5] Hafen, "Cherokee Goldseekers in Colorado, 1849-50," 106. See account of Luke Tierney, one of the party, in Hafen (ed.), *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859*, 106-107.

[6] Hafen (ed.), *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859*, 71; Tierney's description of this discovery, 111.

[7] Des Moines *Iowa Weekly Citizen*, September 8, 1858. Note: The eastern half of Colorado was until 1861 a part of Kansas Territory.

[8] *Ibid.*, October 6, 1858.

[9] *Ibid.*, February 2, 1859.

[10] *Ibid.*, May 18, 1859.

facts for their newspapers. On June 9, 1859, these three newspapermen signed a joint statement from Gregory's Diggings which stated that while evidently there was gold in this region, mining was a business that required "capital, experience, energy, endurance. . . ." The report enumerated the successes of several individuals in that area and stated that many others had left too hastily.[11]

This report, coming in the midst of the 1859 gold rush, may have discouraged some potential miners, but Iowa towns in that year witnessed a seemingly never-ending number of caravans that crossed the state seeking the gold fields. As early as February the Des Moines *Iowa Weekly Citizen* commented that companies for Pike's Peak were passing through that city almost daily. This same account noted that the men were largely "energetic, industrious mechanics; who being out of work, feel that they cannot be idle and are disposed to try their fortune at the gold mines."[12]

Typical of the caravans crossing Iowa in 1859 was one with which Romanzo S. Kingman of Sparta, Wisconsin, traveled. Kingman, who was born near Cleveland, Ohio, on May 19, 1829, was the eldest of five children. His parents were of English descent, but a Spanish grandmother probably accounts for the unusual name, Romanzo. He received a good education and taught school before coming to Wisconsin in 1851 with his two brothers. He was active in the organization of Monroe County, Wisconsin, and in selecting the county seat; later he served as the first elected register of deeds of the county. In the spring of 1859 Kingman went to Pike's Peak and became a part-owner of what was known as the "Bobtail Lode" but sold his interest and returned to Sparta the same year.[13] Kingman while on this trip kept a journal which is now in the possession of his grandniece, Mrs. Harry E. Narey of Spirit Lake. Mrs. Narey has kindly loaned this journal to the State Historical Society for copying and publication.

Monday March 21st 1859

My teams started for Pikes Peak in the morning in company with C. P.

[11] *Ibid.*, June 29, 1859.

[12] *Ibid.*, February 23, 1859.

[13] Biographical data from copy of obituary in Sparta (Wisc.) *Herald*, Feb. 5, 1901, furnished to State Historical Society of Iowa by Mrs. Harry E. Narey.

Damman & co and Chase & co very plesant day. roads very good settled up my business preparatory to starting

Tuesday March 22d 1859

(Morning) packed my kit for Pikes peak and bid the folks good bye for the present. started for LaCrosse [Wisconsin] with Jerry in a wagon. went as far as Bangor then took the cars[14] for LaCrosse. on the cars I found Burbanks on his way to meet his teams at LaCross[e] found the boys in good spirits. Anxiously waiting for a Boat

Wednes[day] March 23d 1859

At 10 o'clock drove our Stock and traps aboard the Steamer Metripolitan.[15] bound for Dubuque. had a very plesant trip arrived at Dubuque next morning at 4 o'clock day was very plesant but windy Cattle stood the trip first rate Fair to Dubuque $60.00

Thursday March 24th /59

Got off the Boat at 4 o'clock morning every thing in confusion cold and windy. as soon as day light packed our *duds* and went up to town to feed our teams but could not find hay enough to do so. pronounsed some awful curses on the town and left. drove out 4 miles and put up for the day with a farmer by the name of Austin Palmer the day was cold and very windy with some snow. went back to Dubuque to look for Fred Peck and my cattle at 4 o'clock he came in

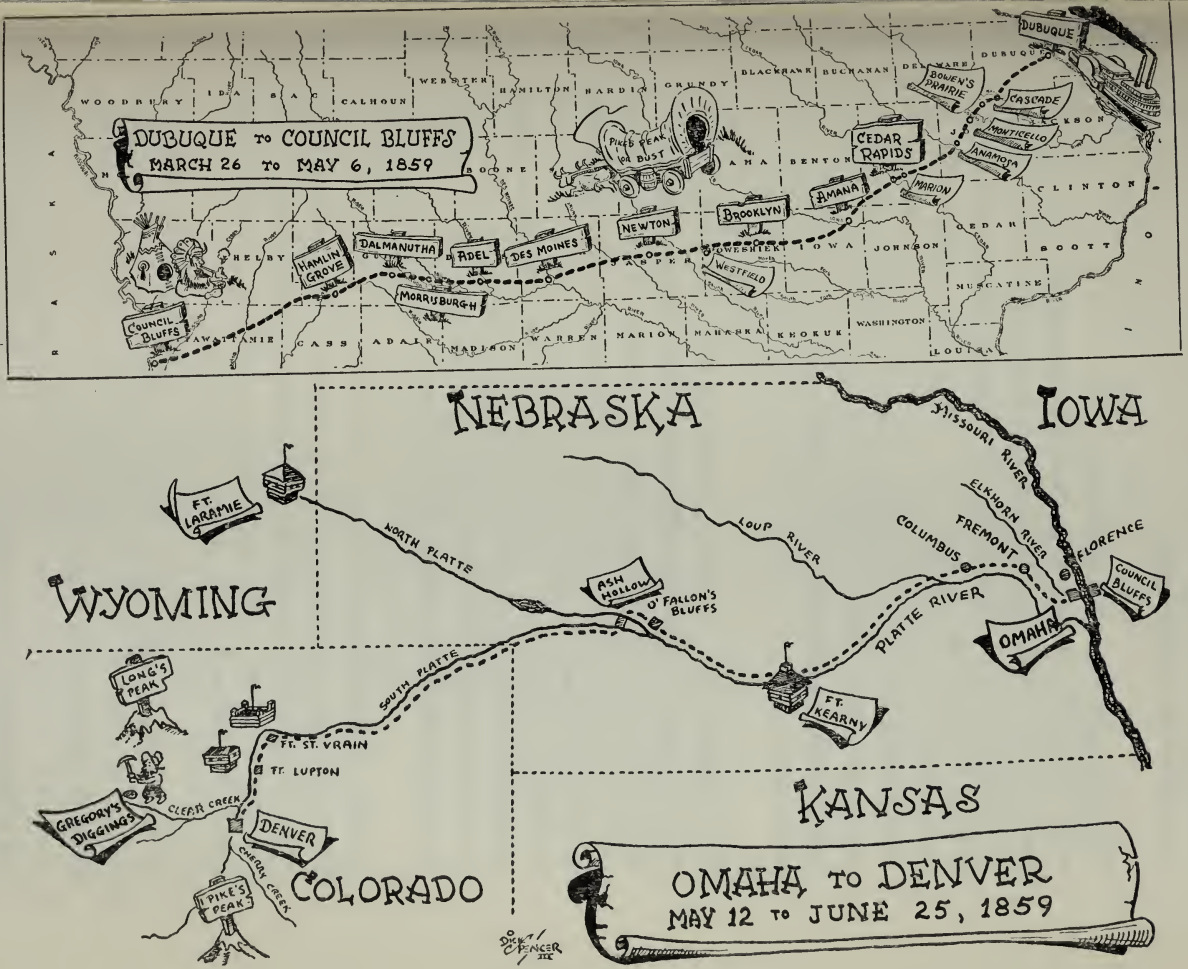
Friday March 25th /59

Went over to Dunleith[16] and waited for my cattle. at 10 o'clock they came and we crossed the river. took old John Horse and rode on to where our teams camped found teams gone and Griffin and Cornelius waiting for me. fed my horse and took dinner and started to overtake my teams found them near Whitewater Creek and camped. distance from Dubuque

[14] Probably the LaCrosse and Milwaukee Railroad, which had reached the Mississippi by 1858. The panic of 1857, plus mismanagement, bankrupted the road, which later became a part of the Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R. William Francis Raney, *Wisconsin, a Story of Progress* (New York, 1940), 183, 185.

[15] The *Metropolitan* was a side-wheeler of 313 tons, built at Pittsburgh in 1855 for the Northern Line Packet Co. From 1856 to 1859 she was in the St. Louis to St. Paul trade under the command of Capt. Thos. B. Rhodes. She was sunk by an ice gorge at St. Louis, December 16, 1865. Burlington *Post*, May 19, 1917. (Beginning in 1914 George B. Merrick contributed to the Burlington *Post* a series of articles on "Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi." The information on the *Metropolitan* is taken from this series.)

[16] Dunleith (now East Dubuque) was in Illinois, directly across the Mississippi from Dubuque.


DUBUQUE to COUNCIL BLUFFS
MARCH 26 to MAY 6, 1859
DUBUQUE
BOWEN'S PRAIRIE
CASCADE
MONTICELLO
ANAMOSA
CEDAR RAPIDS
MARION
AMANA
BROOKLYN
NEWTON
DES MOINES
DALMANUTHA
HAMLIN GROVE
MORRISBURGH
COUNCIL BLUFFS
WESTFIELD
PIKES PEAK or BUST
NEBRASKA
IOWA
WYOMING
KANSAS
COLORADO
MISSOURI RIVER
ELKHORN RIVER
FREMONT
COLUMBUS
LOUP RIVER
FLORENCE
COUNCIL BLUFFS
OMAHA
NORTH PLATTE
ASH HOLLOW
O' FALLON'S BLUFFS
PLATTE RIVER
FT. KEARNY
FT. LARAMIE
SOUTH PLATTE
FT. ST. VRAIN
FT. LUPTON
LONG'S PEAK
GREGORY'S DIGGINGS
CLEAR CREEK
DENVER
CHERRY CREEK
PIKE'S PEAK
OMAHA to DENVER
MAY 12 to JUNE 25, 1859
DICK SPENCER III

22 miles. the country this far is settled almost entirely by Irish and Dutch my cows came up to the camp.

Saturday March 26th /59

Started in good season in the morning. drove to Cascade distan[ce] 4 miles. stopped and bought some provision and had some repairing done. this place is 26 miles from Dubuque on the north fork of the Makoquita River and is a very enterprising little town left this place and drove out 6 miles to Bowens Prairie making a drive of 10 miles. Camped in a very plesant little grove near a creek our route today has been through a very rich farming country roads are getting settled so that they are nearly as good as in summer Quite a number of teams are on the road to Pikes Peak Cornelius and Griffin gone on to Des Moines to see what the prospects are

Sunday March 27th /59

To-day we laied over to cook &c. some of the boys went hunting. Others staid in camp and run bullets and wrote letters &c a very plesant day we have had no rains since we started. boys are all in good spirits and health with the except[ion] of colds which most of them took on first nights camping we are all pretty well hardened in now and the worst is over we can now all rest any where on the ground. we take turns watching cattle nights one watching till midnight and the next till morning. Our train consists of 13 men — to wit Douglass, McCay, Peck, Rice, McMillen, Damman, Miles, Chase, Britton, Lovejoy, Case, Leigh & myself

Monday March 28th

Last night it snowed very fast packed up our things and started on our journey about 8 o'clock. snow 5 inches deep, very disagreeable time. traded off old John for a yoke of steers. passed through Monticello roads extremely bad drove 8 miles and camped on the Prairie cold and rainey all day. watched cattle till 11 o'clock and turned in

Tuesday March 29th /59

This morning the ground froze very hard did not start till 9 o'clock roads continue very soft and bad. passed through Prairie country. 8 miles and camped in a very plesant village called Animosa

Wednesday March 30th

Very plesant morning passed through the village crossed the Wapsapinican river passed through a timber and Prairie country all improved. roads continue soft. very bad traveling indeed had to double teams nearly all the

way. one place it took 13 yoke of cattle to draw the wagon through. drove 8 miles and camped near an old Quaker of whom we bought our hay on the whole had a hard days drive.

Thursday March 31 /59

Got up in the morning and found the snow about 4 inches deep. started in good season went about a mile got into a mud hole where it took 6 & 8 yoke of cattle to get a wagon through. Ira was sick and I had to drive his team drove 7 miles and camped

Friday April 1st /59

Last night very cold the ground froze hard this morning. wind blew very hard started 10 o'clock late snows make the roads extremely bad got [stuck] frequently and had to double teams to get out passed through a very plesant village called Marion drove 9 miles and camped in a little grove.

Saturday Apr 2d

This morning rains and Snows very unplesant weather laied by on account of rain and bad roads boys are all in good spirits. afternoon went to Cedar Rapids ahead of the teams

Sunday Apr. 3d 1859

Waited in Cedar Rapids for teams till noon. went back [to] see what hindered them found that Fred had broke out a wagon tongue got it nearly fixed when I met them got into Town little after noon put on 800 [pounds] of meal crossed the Cedar River and drove 6 miles and stopped with a Scotchman made 8 miles today plesant but cold

Monday Apr 4th 1859

[Amana] crossed the Iowa river drove 13 miles and camped roads very a very cold windy [day] froze all day camped in a valley near a little creek

Tuesday Apr 5th /59

Very plesant day warm but windy passed through the Dutch Colony [Amana] crossed the Iowa river drove 13 miles and camped Roads very passable

Wednesday Apr 6th /59

Fred Peck sick drove his team traveled 15 miles and put up at Menatt's.[17]

[17] For the Manatt family, see *History of Poweshiek County, Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1880), 841. For two other diaries of goldseekers who followed this same route across Iowa, see Lynn I. Perrigo (ed.), "Hawley's Diary of His Trip Across

roads very good with the exceptions of a few bad places timber most of the way Morrison went cousining [visiting] very tired at night

Thursday Apr 7th /59

Traveled 12 miles across prairie all the way. passed through Brooklyn a small God-forsaken looking place Fred continues to be sick drove his team. Camped at Bates' on the prairie out of sight of [illegible] traded cows with Menatt. Saw Ruel Whitman on his way to Pike's Peak roads good. day plesant but windy.

Friday April 8th /59

A Little snow in the morning went about 3 miles and Uncle Bill broke out his wagon tongue mended up and went on traveled 13 miles and camped at 2 o'clock put in a new wagon tongue very fine day prairie most of the way passed through a forsaken looking town called Westfield.[18]

Saturday Apr 9th /59

Fred was able to take his team Britton and myself went ahead to Newton to buy meal &c — roads good Newton is a plesant little town about as large as Sparta is the county seat of Jasper co. day was very fine drove 3 miles out of town and camped. drove today 19 miles a large company camped with us fellow travelers to Pikes Peak evening boys all went to a bit of a dance

Sunday April 10th /59

Rained hard in the night roads quite muddy. very misty drove 3 miles and came to the long dreaded Skunk bottoms.[19] found them as bad as

the Plains in 1860," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 19:319–42 (March, 1936), and "California Diary of Charles M. Tuttle, 1859," *ibid.*, 15:69–85, 219–33 (September and December, 1931).

[18] Westfield in Poweshiek County was also called Sugar Grove (a post office from 1849 to 1862), and Latimers Grove. It was located some three or four miles southwest of Grinnell on the old "State Road." Like many other small towns of the fifties, it was abandoned when by-passed by the railroad. See Grinnell *Herald*, July 24, 1925, June 29, 1934; Brooklyn *Chronicle*, January 21, 1932; Leonard F. Parker, *History of Poweshiek County Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1911), 1:255.

[19] "Ever since the early settlement this stream [the Skunk River] and its bottom lands have been a terror to travelers. . . . This was known and dreaded by people from Maine to California. At an early day the Skunk river was wont to raise out of its banks after a hard rain storm with great rapidity, and many a traveler has passed over with water belly deep to the stage coach teams. . . . So famous was this bottom away back about Civil war days, that *Harper's Weekly* contained an illustration of crossing the "Skunk Bottoms," in which a stage coach loaded with passengers were [*sic*] sitting swamped in the mud, waiting for a pioneer farmer, who is seen approaching in the distance with a yoke of oxen to help the weary

expected and that was bad enough. we had to double teams for over a mile wagons down to the axletrees all the way. raining all the while. Got across however without any bad luck drove 4 miles further and camped rain all the time this has been the most disagreeable day that we have had.

Monday Apr 11th /59

Morning very cold and raw wind. Cleared off about noon very plesant. grass begins to look quite green. our road today was across the prairie country very thinly settled drove 8 miles and camped at 2 o'clock in crossing a little stream today Uncle Bills team run off the embankment and came near upsetting his load in the creek got his oxen in all over evening went [to] Des Moines in the stage distance 14 miles traded off an old wagon for a new one.

Tuesday Apr 12th /59

A wet showery day was in Des Moines Teams got within a mile of town and camped in an old house roads very bad cattle extremely tired could get no hay for them.

Wednesday Apr 13th /59

A raw windy day last night staid at the Everett House[20] in Des Moines Teams got into town about 7 o'clock. got a few hundred [pounds] of hay at a high price to give my cattle a light feeding had to pay 70c for corn bought my supply of meal for 6 months for 10c per pound received a letter from Damman informing me that he had gone on to some point 90 miles or so ahead to buy hay and grain Des Moines the capitol of Iowa has a population of about 6000[21] is situated at the head of navigation on a river by the same name is very much scattered houses are small and have the appearance of being new afternoon started out with the teams and drove 2½ miles and put up. bought hay of a man by the name of Lloyd.

Thursday April 14th /59

This morning got up and found the snow about 4 inches deep hitched up

horses in pulling the coach to firm ground. It is said, however, that the profanity occasioned could not be illustrated by Harper's artist." James B. Weaver (ed.), *Past and Present of Jasper County, Iowa* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1912), 1:28.

[20] A hotel was started by B. F. Hoxie in 1846-1847; it later became known as the Marvin House and was so called until 1854 when it was purchased by James C. Savery and renamed the Everett House. It was located on Third and Walnut streets. Will Porter, *Annals of Polk County, Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1898), 845-6.

[21] Population of Des Moines is here exaggerated. In 1865 the population was only 3,733. *1836–1880 Census of Iowa*, 564.

our teams and drove 1½ miles bought a stack of hay of a man by the name of Murray and camped for a few days in a plesant grove on Walnut Creek[22] Afternoon snow all gone. White & Boardman of LaCross camped with us.

Friday Apr. 15th /59

Morning very plesant but cold Bowles came to our camp Afternoon went to Desmoines with a load of corn to get ground Bowles company came up with us in the evening all in good spirits

Saturday Apr 16th /59

Very plesant day compared with what we have had spent the day in fixing up washing cloths cooking &c the boys all happy. Cornelius came back to meet us.

Sunday Apr 17th

Day plesant and comfortably warm spent the day in hunting ducks and doing whatever was necessary to be done about the camp

Monday April 18th 1859

Left our camp on Walnut Creek and started on our journey roads have become quite good day plesant and warm. drove 15 miles and camped in a small grove could not find any hay consequently our teams had to eat post hay boys tired and cross Bow[l]es company went on 2 miles and camped at Parker cottages

Tuesday Apr 19th /59

Morning frost and cold raw winds. got an early start went about a mile. Got into a bad mud hole. Fred broke a wagon axletree and Uncle John broke a yoke had a hard time but succeded in getting out and mending up so as to go on drove five miles and came to Coon river[23] here we were detained till nearly night crossing the river on a ferry boat. the water being high we had to ferry ½ a mile immediately after crossing the river we came to the village of Adell the county seat of Dallas county considerably scattered. has a population of about 500. has a splendid Court House but on the whole looks rather unpromising here we repaired our wagon which took us till night. myself and 3 of the boys and 2 teams staid in town.

[22] Walnut Creek flows through Walnut Township, Polk County.

[23] The Raccoon River. This ferry "across the North Raccoon river, where the State road runs across said river, at the town of Adel," was first established in 1850 by Horatio Morrison. It continued to operate, under various owners, for a number of years. *History of Dallas County, Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1879), 360-61.

balance of the teams and boys drove out [to] Rollenbaugh's 1½ miles Came across A. D. Smith from Spring Prairie

Wednesday Apr 20th /59

Morning plesant and warm roads good the first day that we have traveled all day without finding a mud hole drove 15 miles and camped at Morrisburg,[24] a paper town here I saw 8 tame Elk.

Thursday Apr 21st /59

Day cold windy and very unplesant roads very good drove 16 miles to Delmalutha[25] and camped at 2 o'clock

Friday April 22d /59

Got an early start in the morning. drove 20 miles to Meeks Grove.[26] here we came up with Jerry & Griffin who have been buying up hay and grain for the purpos[e] of stopping over till grass comes.[27] Boys and cattle almost tired out for the last 3 days our roads have been over prairie and along the dividing [ridge] that divides the waters of the Mississippi and Missouri At Hamlins grove[28] 2 miles East of Meeks grove we came to the first waters that ran west.

Saturday Apr. 23d /59

Day very plesant Boys and teams are enjoying a fine rest we are all together now and number 29 men 21 yoke of cattle 17 cows 11 wagons 9 horses and 4 Tents we have got hay and grain to last us 10 days and by that time we expect to have grass to feed cattle

[24] Morrisburgh, on the stage route through Guthrie County, was platted in 1855 by James Moore and Jonathan J. Morris. By 1859, when Kingman passed through the town, it consisted of a few stores, a hotel, and several saloons. A disastrous cyclone in 1871, coupled with the coming of the railroad, which by-passed the town, ended Morrisburgh's existence. *History of Guthrie and Adair Counties, Iowa . . .* ((Springfield, Ill., 1884), 471; *Past and Present of Guthrie County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1907), 238–40.

[25] Dalmanutha. Another of the towns built, in 1856, on the Des Moines-Counicl Bluffs stage route through Guthrie County. This town, likewise by-passed by the railroad, no longer exists. *Past and Present of Guthrie County, Iowa . . .*, 240-41.

[26] The Rev. Richard Collins Meek, of Kentucky, was a Methodist minister who had come to Audubon County in 1855. H. F. Andrews, *History of Audubon County, Iowa . . .* (Indianapolis, 1915), 126-7.

[27] It was necessary for travelers to wait until the grass was up on the plains before they left the settlements along the Missouri River, since there would be no chance to buy grain for their cattle.

[28] Hamlin's Grove, named for Nathaniel Hamlin, was located in Exira Township, Audubon County. It became a post office in 1853. In 1873 the name was changed to Grove; in 1888 the post office was discontinued.

Sunday Apr 24th /59

Day very fine and warm Boys are passing the time in reading and writing letters and lounging around. no shooting to-day out of respect to the preacher Mr. Meek on whose land we are camped and who by the by is a fine old man. in the evening at our request he and the family came into our tent and the boys all came in and he preached us a fine sermon.

Monday Apr 25th /59

Spent most of the day traveling around with Jerry trying to trade horses and oxen did not succeed at supper we set a long table in front of the tents and invited Mr. Meek and family to take supper with us which they did Grass has grown fast today day has been warm and plesant wrote a letter to Mate evening rained very hard indeed

Tuesday Apr 26th /59

Today has been wet and lowery Jerry and Griffin started on this morning to Council Bluffs 60 miles from here to do some trading. will waite there till we come up Miles was taken quite unwell rode all day trying to trade oxen. succeeded in trading off a yoke of old broken down oxen for a splendid yoke of 4 year old steers.

Wednesday Apr 27th /59

Dry extremely warm and plesant grass growing finely. turned out my cows and they filled themselves well on grass. spent the day breaking my new Steers and getting home hay Miles still sick

Thursday Apr 28th /59

Spent the day lounging around camp, wrote a letter to Father. Miles continues to be quite sick day warm and plesant

Friday Apr 29th /59

Very plesant day doing whatever I can to kill time plesant and warm Miles continues sick not able to travel

Saturday Apr 30

plesant and warm doing nothing but taking care of cattle Morrison started on to the Bluffs to find his Sister

Sunday May 1st /59

Got up early in the morning with the intention of starting on our journey Miles not well enough to go concluded to stay another day. went 2 miles north. bought a load of hay. day somewhat rainy wrote a letter to Greenman

Monday May 2d /59

Started again on our journey Miles is able to ride on a bed made up in the wagon passed through a very nice grove of timber. crossed the East Nishina [Nishnabotna] river traveled 17 miles and camped on Indian Creek[29] Old Dr. Ballard camped with us evening rained hard

Tuesday May 3d 1859

Morning wet and mudy Crossed Indian Creek on a very poor bridge where we had to unyoke our oxen and draw our wagons over by hand traveled all day and never passed so much as a bush crossed several small streams and camped on little Silver[30] where we again had to unyoke our oxen and draw our wagons over by hand and camped not a tree or bush in sight. drove 16 miles day fine. turned our oxen out to grass for first time

Wednesday May 4th /59

Drove up our oxen and yoked them up and felt very much relieved in not having a bill of $5.00 to pay for hay. Miles getting better fast. drove 6 miles. Crossed Silver river bottoms very bad broke 2 wagon tongues had a hard time drove 12 miles and camped day warm and fine

Thursday May 5th /59

Day very nice grass growing finely and most splendid roads being mostly on a ridge from which we got splendid views of the country this western portion of Iowa that we have traveled over for the past 100 miles is certainly the richest land I ever saw all it lacks is wood to make it almost a paradise. drove of[f] the road to get water and camped within 6 miles of Council Bluff. drove 18 miles today day fine

Friday May 6th /59

Morning left ox teams and went to town with horse team in company with Bowles and others. road very hilly got into town found Rose & Damman waiting for us. Ox teams soon came in rained hard as we passed through town drove on crossed the Missouri river to Omaha drove up the river 3 miles and camped in a vacant tavern where we had plenty of room and good accommodations Council Bluff is situated 3 miles from the river the flat between the river and town frequently overflowing. this is not a very inviting looking place it is situated between two bluffs one main street

[29] In Clay Township, Shelby County.

[30] Little Silver Creek is in central Pottawattamie County.

only and a very few good buildings Streets and revines crowded with teams and emigrants[31] On the Nebraska side of the river is a very handsom flat of land inded on which the city of Omaha a very plesant place is situated

Saturday May 7th /59

Morning lowery afternoon clear and plesant. Wrote several letters and watched camp boys nearly all gone to town. boys had stag dance in the ballroom

Sunday May 8 /59

Morning cloudy & cold afternoon plesant. After breakfast Damman Griffin and myself went to Omaha and from there west 4 miles into the country to look at some oxen and a wagon we thought of buying got home at dark. no trade

Monday May 9th /59

Went to Town to trade horse for oxen. tried hard all day did not succeed day fine and warm. Town full of emigrants fitting out for the mines[32] boys went to a dance at Florence[33]

Tuesday May 10th /59

Morning took our teams and drawed a house to Omaha in afternoon went to town to buy our supplies. intend to start on our journey in the morning sold our Pony for $30.00 Got home at dark did not get through buying outfit consequently shall not start tomorrow day plesant

Wednesday May 11th /59

Finished buying our outfit Traded wagons packed our loads over pr[e]paratory to starting in the morning Evening sent out our horses and wagon and got in about a dozen ladies and had a first rate dance in the tavern

[31] For Council Bluffs at this time, see Walker D. Wyman, "Council Bluffs and the Westward Movement," Iowa Journal of History, 47:99–118 (April, 1949), especially pp. 109–113 for Pike's Peak gold rush.

[32] For Omaha during the Pike's Peak gold rush, see Alfred Sorenson, *The Story of Omaha . . .* (Omaha, 1923), 180–88.

[33] Florence, Nebraska, incorporated in 1853, was originally the site of a Mormon camp in 1845. A. P. DeMilt, *Story of an Old Town . . .* (Omaha, 1902), 22-3. "Florence money" circulated widely in Iowa during the fifties, before banks of issue were legalized by the Iowa Constitution of 1857. The Bank of Florence was chartered in 1856 under the laws of the Territory of Nebraska, the stock being held by Cook and Sargent of Davenport and their branches in Iowa City and Fort Des Moines. Howard H. Preston, *History of Banking in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1922), 62-3.

whic[h] we are occupying broke up about 1 o'clock. soon after it commenced raining hard

Thursday May 12th /59

Started on our journey in a train composed of 13 wagons 86 head of cows and oxen and 38 men all from LaCrosse & Monroe counties drove 12 miles over a rolling Prairie and camped on the banks of the little Pappeo river.[34] met 27 teams returning[35]

Friday May 13th /59

Morning cold enough to freeze afternoon more plesant good roads. met 62 teams returning and reporting bad news from Pikes Peak. passed through the village of Elkhorn which consisted of 3 solitary buildings on the open prairie. passed on a few miles crossed the Elkhorn river and came into the great Platt[e] valley.[36] an extensive plain of flat land as far as the eye can reach from East to west and from 4 to 20 miles from North to South. from Omaha to this point is a most beautiful rich country lacking nothing but wood to make it almost a paradise from Omaha to the crossing of Elkhorn river is 21 miles drove to Rawhide creek and camped meeting so many men returning today has rather shaken the faith of some of our boys

Saturday May 14th /59

Morning rained quite hard with no prospect of clearing of[f] hitched up and started in company with an other train about the size of our own

[34] "This morning we left camp at seven o'clock. We soon lost sight of the Big Muddy, and pursued our journey over magnificent roads, the route leading over an undulating prairie, . . . to Pappillon (formerly called Pappea) creek." "The Platte River Route: Diary of E. H. N. Patterson," *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859* . . . (Vol. 11, *Southwest Historical Series*), 105. (Hereafter listed as "Patterson Diary.") Patterson's party preceded Kingman's by about two weeks, on practically the same route along the Platte.

[35] Here Kingman begins to meet returning "Peakers" who had either failed to find gold, or had been turned back by discouraging stories before ever reaching the gold region. For newspaper accounts of this eastward movement, see Des Moines *Iowa Weekly Citizen*, May 11, 1859; Marion *Herald*, May 26, 1859; Cedar Rapids *Cedar Valley Times*, June 9, 1859; Columbus City *Enterprise*, June 16, 1859. See also, letter of E. C. Stinzey written from Omaha on May 15, 1859, in *Nebraska History Magazine*, 17:158–61 (July-September, 1936). Patterson recorded at Fort Kearny, May 9, 1859, that "Five teams are going back to where one is going forward—except those that are going through to California." "Patterson Diary," 116.

[36] Kingman's party is here following the Military Road, over which a "tri-weekly mail is carried . . . from Omaha City to Ft. Kearny, in good post coaches." "Patterson Diary," 106.

making a train of 25 wagons 75 yoke of oxen & 68 men. this morning Judd Blake concluded he would go no farther and turned back. we traveled in the rain 10 miles over a country as flat as the sea to a stage station and P. O. called Fremont[37] and camped a little beyond the town on the bank of the Plat river still raining at Fremont we saw several men on their return to Pikes Peak who wintered there last winter and assure us that there is gold there and in paying quantities Roads bad all day

Sunday May 15th /59

Morning lowery and wet got up our teams with the intention of starting on but about the time we got them yoked it commenced raining and rained hard all day. did not start. I have heard a great deal of the Platt and Missouri water but never could realize what it is till now. there is no other here and we are obliged to use the riley stuff. it tastes however a great deal better than it looks Wrote a letter to E. F. Ring

Monday May 16 /59

Morning foggy and damp latter part of the day warm and clear. drove about 16 miles and camped roads today have been very muddy from the time we crossed the Elkhorn to this place there has not been an elevation or depression whatever but as level as the sea soil is a sandy loam to[o] flat to be good farming land however there is occasionally a man trying to open a farm but it must be discouraging business. no timber in this section but cotton wood and but little of that. passed a paper town called North Bend P. O. 2 houses & Steam mill continual pasing and repasing of teams. I counted 49 returning.

Tuesday May 17th 1859

Morning very plesant sold a cow for $25 crosed Shell Creek and stopped for noon.[38] very warm Ira's Team came near running into the river. 2 of our cows gave us the slip and went back 8 miles to where I had sold their calves the day before, before I overtook them. did not over take the teams till dark. found them camped on the bank of a little pond. Continue to meet a great many teams returning and reporting unfavorable news from

[37] "Started at seven o'clock, and descended the bluff to Elkhorn river, one mile distant, which we crossed on a fine bridge. . . . Three miles further on we crossed Rawhide creek on a bridge, and then for eleven miles pass over an unsettled country to Fremont, a Massachusetts settlement. . . ." "Patterson Diary," 107.

[38] See "Patterson Diary," 109. Patterson passed through North Bend on April 30, 1859.

the mines and among them was Tracy. Taylor his partner has gone to California.

Wednesday May 18th /59

Morning looked like rain passed of[f] and proved to be a nice day Burbank got discouraged and left us this morning and started for home. came in company with Geo & Chester Colwell and she that was Ruth Ells now Colwells wife old schollars of mine at Union also Caughran & Goodwin from Reedsburg on their way to California.

Passed through a paper town called Columbus.[39] a very pretty sight for a town and as handsom a country around as I ever saw but no timber camped on the banks of Loup Fork in the edge of the village. we are now 85 miles from Omaha

Thursday May 19th 1859

Today is my birth day and I have celebrated it in fording Loup Fork a very rapid stream and about 80 rods in width w[h]ere we forded and is considered one of the worst streams in the west to ford. After we had waded through in several places and ascertained the proper channel we bolstered up our wagons as high as we could to prevent the water from running into the boxes and then tied a rope to the yokes ahead of the oxen and 20 men ahold of the rope to steady them and prevent the current from taking them down stream. And several men on each side of the wagon to prevent it from tipping over the bed of the river is nothing but quick sand and is consequently changing frequently several times a day and if a man, beast, or wagon stops he is sure to sink and the stiff current will take them down. in this way I waded the stream 18 times got our wagons and teams all safely across about 2 o'clock and camped men all tired and as wet as could be. A company of 12 wagons came down to the ford to cross with us but it looked so perilous they did not undertake it and went 15 miles up the river to a ferry[40]

Friday May 20th 1859

Last night we had as severe a rainstorm as I ever saw water came down in torrents and the wind blew severely blowed down Bowles' tent and drownded out all the inmates except Bowl[e]s who lay and took it like a

[39] "Columbus is a little border village, containing ten or a dozen houses, including a tavern, store and post office." "Patterson Diary," 112.

[40] Patterson mentions two ferries crossing the Loup Fork in this area, one on the Military Road and one on the old Mormon Trail. See "Patterson Diary," 112-13.

soldier. the rest of the Boys all fled to other tents. morning found us nearly as wet as when we came out of the river. last night a Du[t]chman bought of me a plow and some other things amounting [to] $30.00 and left a yoke of oxen in pawn till he should pay me this morning. but instead of his coming with the money the wife came and demanded the cattle which I refused to give up. she tried to drive them one way and I drove them another put them into the train and drove them along. about noon the Sheriff and a posse of 4 men armed overtook us and demanded the cattle which I refused to give up and they came to the conclusion they could not get the cattle. I made them a proposition however and at night they overtook us again and accepted my proposition and took the cattle day passably fine but very cold towards night. roads quite muddy in consequence of the rain Crossed Prairie creek and camped on the bank of the Platte drove 18 miles

Saturday May 21st /59

Fine day Our course is up the platte the scenery is every day the same. an extensive plains as far as the eye can reach on our right and not a stick of timber have I seen since I left Omaha. on our left hand is the Platte river ½ to 2 miles in width and interspersed with islands timbered with cottonwood and this is all the timber there is in the country and we frequently have to wade in water waste deep to get wood to do our cooking We are never without wood enough to last us one night or more which we carry along with us for fear we may be obliged to camp where we cannot get any. today we had to take on a supply to last us 50 miles as we do not expect to get any more within that distance. today we saw a drove of Antelope off to our right. a number of the boys took after them but did not get a shot. drove 22 miles

Sunday May 22d 1859

Morning fine and plesant A dispute arose this morning in the company as to wheather we should travel today or not. it resulted in about half of the company going on and the balance remain[ing] wheather we get together again is a matter quite uncertain our teams C. P. Dammans teams Brittons team Griffins team & Whites team went on Bowl[e]s company & Jacksonville Boys stay passed "Lone Tree" station[41] and once more

[41] "At this point is located a log hut, called the 'Lone Tree Station' of the Western Stage company, tenanted by the stage driver, his wife and child. This is the first human habitation this side of Loupe, thus far." "Patterson Diary," 118-19.

camped on the banks of Platte. though the water in this river is as riley as rut hole yet it tastes very well. Today we came to see the Alkalye which is so spontaneous in this country. drove 11 miles today

Monday May 23d 1859

Wind blew a perfect hurrycane all day towards night looked very much like rain but finally faired off drove about 20 miles and camped on the bank of the Platte had very good roads. Passed through another Nebraska village called Grand Island City.[42] two or three shanties inhabited by old bachelors is the extent of the town Scenery is the same as we have had for the last 100 miles

Tuesday May 24th /59

A very fine day Crosed wood river. most splendid roads drove 18 miles and camped on the banks of Wood river our course now being on the south side of said river a stream very much like the Platte river though much smaller we now begin to come into a section of country abounding in Buffalo, Elk & Antelope. several of our boys were out today but they did not get any game

Wednesday May 25th /59

Last night it rained very hard cleared off about 11 o'clock. Bowles' teams came up and we drove on and Camped on the prairie and got our water out of a sink hole. Today we passed Dr Henry's[43] the last dwelling house on the frontier 10 miles from the Fort [Ft. Kearny] Several of the boys were out hunting again but got no game. they found a man back from the road dead had either been killed by indians or had been out hunting and perished they could find nothing about his person by which they could find out his name or from whence he came had evidently been dead two weeks or more

Thursday May 26th /59

This morning and last night is the most disagreeable weather we have had since we started. rain & snow so disagreeable that we could not proceed on our journey we were camped however in a bad place for a storm and we

[42] Patterson reports that Grand Island City was a German colony of some 35 families. However, in the previous January, an "unprincipled scoundrel . . . out of pure malicious mischief" had set fire to the prairie grass and the resulting fire had destroyed most of the village. "Patterson Diary," 119-20.

[43] On May 8, Patterson wrote ". . . we arrived at a settlement known as Dr. Henry's Ranche, that gentleman — together with several relatives — having made a claim of nine hundred and sixty acres on Wood river." "Patterson Diary," 122.

hitched up our teams and drove off from the road 5 miles to Wood river where we could get wood & water. Almost all the boys wrote letters and in the afternoon Damman, Rose, Boardman, Frost & myself started for Ft. Kerny[44] to male them got over to Platte river 8 miles and found the river very high with no way of crossing but to swim. Damman & Boardman & Frost were anxious to get over so they rolled up the letters in an oil cloth so that they should not get wet and plunged into the river which at this stage of the water is 2 miles wide and swam and waded and were soon out of our sight among the islands. Rose and I were to waite on the banks of the river with the team until they should return dark came and no boys in sight yet we could do no better than to return to our camp Got in at 10 o'clock.

Friday May 27th /59

Got an early start this morning Our company started on our journey and I went over to the ford expecting the boys to return this morning. waited till 3½ o'clock in the afternoon. no body in sight. concluded that they had found dangerous crossing the day before and dare not undertake to return and had gone to a ford several miles above and I started to overtake the train. came up to camp about 9 o'clock boys had not got in while waiting at the ford I saw a Squaw of the Pawnee tribe shot by the chief of their tribe. Crime was adultery with the whites[45]

Saturday May 28th /59

Clear fine day. after breakfast hitched up the horse team & started back in search of the boys drove about 8 miles and met them. they had got acrost the stream in a skiff 10 miles below where they had crossed the day before in getting over to the Office the[y] lost all the letters sent to be mailed some 20 or more said they came near perishing they were in the water so long. After I found the Boys started back to camp. hitched up our teams

[44] Fort Kearny, originally called Ft. Childs, was established on the Platte River in 1848. See Albert Watkins, "History of Fort Kearny," in *Collections*, Nebraska State Historical Society, 16:227–67 (1911); J. Sterling Morton, *et al.*, *Illustrated History of Nebraska* . . . (3 vols., Lincoln, 1907), 1:91-2; 2:163–5.

[45] Kingman does not mean here that he saw the actual shooting. Patterson reported on May 9, 1859: "Near the landing place of the Ford, lies a dead squaw, enveloped in a blanket and buffalo robe, with moccasins on her feet, and head bare, upon the sod wall of an old house. She was the daughter of a Pawnee chief, and had left her home and lost her virtue. Several weeks ago her father came up here, got her across the river, and then rubbed out the dishonor she had brought upon her family by taking her life." "Patterson Diary," 123.

and drove 6 miles and camped saw a buffalo off on the prairie Damman & I saddled our horses and gave chase but did not overtake him we are now in a section abounding in Buffalo, Elk & Antelope. At suppertime 2 of the boys who had been out hunting came into camp said they had killed 2 Buffalo this excited all the Boys in camp. nothing would do but we must have a buffalo hunt. And accordingly all went to preparing their arms for a hunt next day

Sunday May 29th /59

Beautiful morning. breakfast was over at an early hour and all that could be spared started for the hills anxious to get a shot at a buffalo. went about 8 miles back into the bluffs and came onto several large heards [*sic*] here the boys separated a few going in each party, there being 8 in the party I was in. we hunted till dark & killed 5 buffalo. we dressed 2 of them put them into our wagon & started for Camp at about dark distance about 10 miles. soon lost our way and were compelled to stay on the prairie without anything to eat or water to drink saw thousands of buffalo and had a good time hunting at 10 o'clock concluded we could not get into camp and stopped for the night saw worlds of game today

Monday May 30th /59

At daylight started on our course for home we suffered considerable from cold last night, not having had even a coat or vest but we suffered more from thurst had nothing to eat or drink from the time we left camp till we returned which was about 10 o'clock. had a good time but awful tired. the rest of the boys got in last evening and killed in all 4 making 9 killed by our company. Started on our journey drove 12 miles and camped. the day has been warm and fine.

Tuesday 31st /59

Day fine and plesant roads good. drove about 23 miles & camped near a slew.

Wednesday June 1st /59

Last night we had an awful blow[46] it blew down all the tents but White's & ours. this valley is very subject to high winds & whirl winds. at Buffalo Creek last Monday night a whirl wind tore 3 wagons belonging to emi-

[46] Patterson encountered a similar storm on May 10: "Just at sundown a black cloud commenced rising in the west, and in about an hour a regular Platte river storm, of an hour's duration, swept down upon us. The lightning furnished an illumination for the scene — the rolling thunder beat the reveille and retreat of the

grants all to pieces and scattered the loading all over the prairie as far as 3 miles off. wagons & loading was an entire loss

Thursday June 2d 1859

A very plesant day. drove about 20 miles and camped on the bank of the Platte once more roads sandy. No wood now for several days drive. We use buffalo chips for fuel.

Friday June 3d 1859

Started in good season in the morning day fine roads sandy and muddy. drove 16 miles and camped on the banks of the Platte. Met a Mormon train of mules going to Florence after Machinery Attempted to wade onto an island and get wood water so deep had to give it up

Saturday June 4th /59

Cold and windy. Over coat and mittens were comfortable indeed. I believe I never was in a country where there was such sudden changes. One day extremely warm and next cold enough to snow Crossed 3 very pretty little streams camped on the bank of the 3d one. roads have been very sandy indeed today. passed the forks of the Platte.

Sunday June 5th /59

Today has been excessively hot and roads most of the way sandy prospected for a ford 7 of the boys waded the Platte but found the water to[o] deep to ford with safety drove on crossed several pretty streams and camped on Platte

Monday June 6th /59

Day fine hard shower about camping time. drove about 18 miles and camped near a fine spring of water we are all anxious to get to the ford to pass over the Platte. the water is so high we are anticipating some trouble. boys are all in good spirits have not met any teams returning since we left F. Kerney. the valley of the Platte here is about 2 to 3 miles wide not a tree have seen [*sic*] for a number of days. we burn nothing but buffalo chips & willow brush and we do not expect to have any thing else till we get across the river

clouds — the wind came in powerful gusts — the rain fell in torrents — and the hail beat down in fury; it took several of us to hold up our tent poles, and when a hail stone the size of a quail's egg would strike our knuckles, it left its mark." "Patterson Diary," 125-6.

Tuesday June 7th /59

Day fine roads good drove 18 miles to opposite Ash hollow[47] and camped. river is very high we expect to ford here tomorrow if possible

Wednesday June 8th /59

Morning lowery. Lawrence & Leigh prospec[t]ed the ford found it impassible. Bowles resigned his office as captain of the company and we elected Britton[48] after dinner started on expecting to be obliged to go to Ft. Laramie[49] to cross the river w[h]ich is about 180 miles out of our way. drove about 8 miles saw a place in the river where we thought we could ford 8 of us prospected and found a possibility of fording. camped here with the intention of giving the matter a more thorough investigation tomorrow a share of the company still insist on going to Laramie to cross rather than risk the crossing here.

Thursday June 9th /59

Day fine and warm. found the ford barely passible the deepest water up to our armpits and the distance nearly 2 miles worked hard all day and crossed Bowles 4 wagons safe

Friday June 10th/59

Forenoon cloudy and cold today we crossed 6 wagons including our own worked hard and so did all the men.

Saturday June 11th/59

Day fine and warm Got up in the morning lame and sore from the effects of fording yesterday breakfast over we commenced getting the rest of the wagons acrost the river got all over safe and sound about 5 o'clock. very tired

Sunday June 12th/59

Fine day dried our loads & cloth[e]s and prepared for a start very lame and bottoms of my feet all worn through from the effects of wading the

[47] Ash Hollow, several miles west of the juncture of the North and South Platte, was a crossing place for the California and Oregon emigrants from St. Joseph, who had traveled along the south side of the Platte. Morton, *et al.*, *Illustrated History of Nebraska . . .*, 1:78-9; "Patterson Diary," 142. For map, see James T. Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History* (New York, 1943), Plate 119.

[48] Practically all companies traveling westward were organized under a body of rules and with elected officers.

[49] Fort Laramie was in present-day Wyoming at the juncture of the North Platte and the Laramie River.

river the few past days. nearly all the boys are worn out. Curtice & Courtright's companies are fording the river today

Monday June 13th/59

A very dry dusty day. Started on our course. Britton sick and the duty of managing the train devolves upon me. drove down the river to Ash hollow and laid by till 3 o'clock. from here we took a cross cut for the South Platte river without a road or guide. we got our course from an indian trader. by taking this course we save 20 miles and it was necessary to drive it in the night for there is no water on the route drove up Ash hollow 3 miles and then up the steepest hill I ever saw traveled once at the top of the hill we turned out our cattle to feed till sundown & get a bite of something to eat for ourselves we then took our course for the South Platte myself and some others keeping ahead to keep the course which we did till 11 o'clock then it clouded up and we had to stop. boys took their blankets and laid down on the ground till day light. At Ash hollow I met Wells & Livermore and the Cooktown Co. on their way to California the roads today have been literaly lined with stock and emigrants for California and Utah

Tuesday June 14th /59

At day light started on our course came in sight of the Sout[h] Platte river about 9 o'clock and camped by the side of a splendid spring here some of the boys washed some dirt and found several particles of goold [*sic*]. at noon we hitched up and drove up the river in order to find a ford. found one and camped at 4 o'clock raining a little tomorrow morning we have all got to go into the river again and I dread it like the tooth ache, though the crossing is not near as bad as that of the north fork

Wednesday June 15 /59

Breakfast over we plunged into the river, having packed our loads so as to prevent them from getting wet the night before and at 10 o'clock we had every wagon over the river safe and sound. boys all worked like heroes. repacked our loads and after dinner we drove 10 miles and camped. it just begins to seem as though we were going to Pikes Peak now. the distance from here as near as we can learn is about 200 miles.

Thursday June 16th /59

Fine day drove about 20 miles a part of the way very sandy. along the bank of the river is grass in spots, south of us is a barren plain as far as

the eye can reach, producing nothing but cactus and wild sage we are bothered very much for wood to do our cooking we are now among the Cheyene Indians whom we find very friendly passed 2 of their villages

Friday June 17th 1859

Extremely warm day. roads a good share of the way are very sandy and gravely. drove about 18 miles and camped by a very nice spring there is no variety of scenery in this country on one hand is an extensive barren plain on the other is the swift muddy waters of the Platte with very low banks Elk Deer & Antelope plenty we are now out of the buffalo country entirely

Saturday June 18th /59

Today is as warm as yesterday roads quite sandy in places had one bad mud hole where the roads are not sandy they are very smo[o]th and nice drove about 16 miles and camped on the bank of the Platte. we are constantly meeting return Pikes Peakers who report all kinds of stories. there is also a constant stream of wagons going on to the mines some days I think the prospects are good at the mines at other times I am almost discouraged but I made up my mind long ago not to go home till I had seen for myself. since we forded my feet have been so sore that I have rode the most of the time with the horse team

Sunday June 19th /59

Today is not as warm more wind stirring roads are splendid today. there has been no rain for a long time and every thing is all dried up except the grass on the bottoms. Almost every day it looks as though it would rain hard in a few minutes but it has always passed off without rain. drove 22 miles and camped on the bank of the Platte there is but little water here except what runs in this river most of other water is more or less alkaline

Monday June 20th 1859

Day fine and plesant Crossed Beaver Creek & Bijou Creek drove 21 miles and camped at a spring. 4 miles of the road very sandy and for 15 miles of the road to come is very sandy also

Tuesday June 21st /59

Started at 10 o'clock in the night in order to get over the sandy roads in the cool of the day here we leave the river and do not strike it again for 15 miles the roads are across a barren plaine covered with nothing but cactus and wild sage. got through to the river at 9 o'clock laid over bal-

ance of the day to rest our cattle and do some washing quite a number of the cattle in the train are lame and sick I have got 2 that I cannot work from this point we get the first sight of the mountains which very much resemble thunder clouds. their snowy tops are distinctly visible the highest point of which is said to be Longs Peak[50] day very warm

Wednesday June 22d /59

Started in the morning at the usual hour. roads most of the way are good. day fine. drove 23 miles and camped. we meet now days from 30 to 60 teams going back today we met 56 mostly homesick men reporting all sorts of stories.

Thursday June 23d /59

Day fine. roads passible drove about 20 miles and camped near St Vrains Fort.[51] our course today has been nearly south up the Platte and parrallel with the mountains which are about 30 miles distant and with their snowy capped tops look majestick

Friday June 24th /59

Day as warm and dry as ever drove about 20 miles and camped. passed the remains of 3 old forts the 2 principle ones are called St Vrain & Ft Lancaster[52] they are built of brick, dried in the sun but are now all falling down

Saturday June 25th /59

After breakfast Jerry and I started for Denver City[53] with the horse team.

[50] "From Bijou, the road cuts across a bend in the river, leading over high table-land, which is sandy part of the way. There are no good camping-places until the Platte bottoms are again reached. From these table-lands you obtain the first view of the mountains, which are distant about seventy-five miles. Long's Peak is the highest mountain in view at that place." "The Luke Tierney Guidebook," in Hafen (ed.), *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859*, 142-3. (Hereafter listed as "Tierney Guidebook.")

[51] Fort St. Vrain, on the east bank of the South Platte about one and one-half miles below the mouth of the St. Vrain's Creek, was an early trading post owned by the Bent brothers and Ceran St. Vrain. In 1859 it was occupied by C. M. Miles and others, who kept a "ranche for the convenience of miners." "Tierney Guidebook," 143. For a description, see letter of Samuel S. Curtis in Hafen (ed.), *Colorado Gold Rush: Contemporary Letters and Reports, 1858-1859* (Vol. 10, *Southwest Historical Series*), 171.

[52] This was actually Fort Lupton, built in 1836 by Lancaster P. Lupton. Fritz, *Colorado, the Centennial State*, 95.

[53] In 1858 following the gold discovery of the Cherokees, two towns were founded on Cherry Creek. Auraria, on the west side, was platted by Henry Allen from Council Bluffs in October. During the winter a group from Leavenworth founded

arrived there at 10 o'clock. We enter the town from the east side and [it] is situated south of the Platte and East of Cherry Creek there is nothing very inviting about the place or location some 300 shanties not more than half of them are finished every thing about town looks mighty dull no stir in business mixed in through the village are about 100 Indian wigwams of the Arapahoe nation the noted Cherry Creek is as dry as a powder house[54] day fine. After-noon drove back and met the teams and camped 3 miles below town there being no grass nearer the village

Sunday June 26th /59

Morning started at usual time. drove into town stoped a short time for the boys to look about town afternoon crossed South Platte and drove 9 miles towards the mountains camped at a spring 2 miles from the mountains. about 5 o'clock it rained just enough to lay the dust said to be the first rain here this season. today we noticed several small gardens but the owners have to water their vegitables every day yesterday and today have been very dusty indeed

Monday June 27th /59

Fournoon went out in search of a place to ranch our cattle and leave our wagons while we go into the mountains to prospect. found a place on clear Creek[55] 3 miles from the base of mountains. afternoon drove our teams over and camped. Up and down this creek for 4 miles is a perfect village of wagons and tents and it is the same on all the streams in the vicinity and around all the springs along the base of the mountains

Tuesday June 28th 1859

Airing our loads fixing our camp for a permanent stop at least for a few weeks and also fixing to pack into the mountains to look up a gold claim day fine as usual

Wednesday Jun[e] 29th /59

Morning started with my pack in company with the most of our company

the town of Denver on the east side of the creek and named it for the governor of Kansas Territory. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), 365–70. In contrast to Kingman's description of Denver, Patterson reported from Auraria on June 17: "Considerable business is going on — the saloons are flourishing — the bakeries making money — the cattle market down." "Patterson Diary," 184.

[54] "Cherry creek is sometimes a clear, beautiful stream, but this morning [June 17, 1859] the water suddenly ceased running, except a small rivulet at the upper part of the city." "Patterson Diary," 184.

[55] Clear Creek is in present-day Clear Creek County, west of Denver.

for the diggings went very leisurely traveled about 13 miles and stopped for the night in a narrow revine in the mountains a most huge rough looking place broiled our meat on the coles of a camp fire fried our pancakes and eat them with our fingers after supper examined the formation of the rocks some but made no discoveries evening rolled myself up in my blankets and laid down by our camp fire for a nights repose

Thursday June 30th /59

This morning got up and went ab[o]ut cooking breakfast and for a variety we cooked the same as we did last night breakfast over we started on crossed some of the real genuine rockey ranges and camped near a most excellent spring of water in a deep ravine. the high rockey points towered above us seemingly to the clouds after supper Rose and Myself clim[b]ed one of these points which was at least 1,000 feet above our camp it was a most splendid sight to view the scenery from this point in ascending these high points it is very difficult to breath the surroundnig air is so rare

Friday July 1st /59

Today we got into the vicinity of the diggings prospected around all day for a claim and at night got around into Gregorie's diggings[56] this is the head quarters of the miners and is a place of a great deal of stir quite a village hase grown up here in about six week saw a great many miners at work came to the conclusion that the thing was paying well. nights here in the mountains are extremely cold we being but a short distance from the range that is perpetually covered with snow.

Saturday July 2d /59

After breakfast started back to our teams left my pack here. got home at supper time pretty near used up tired and lame

Sunday July 3d /59

Wrote several letters among them was one to McBride for publication quite lame and stif[f] today from my recent tramp

[56] Gregory's Diggings, or the Gregory Lode, was discovered by John H. Gregory of Georgia on May 6, 1859, on the north fork of Clear Creek near present-day Central City. This lode was "the richest ever found in Colorado, and one of the richest in the world." Before the discovery was announced the Gregory party organized the district so that "few of those who came found ground to work." Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming*, 377-8. Patterson reached Gregory's Diggings on June 20, 1859, and reported: "when we first went in, we learned that all the claims were taken — that the only show for us would be to buy." "Patterson Diary," 194. For location of Gregory's Diggings, see Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History*, Plate 120.

Monday July 4th /59

Wrote letters all day to my numerous friends. it has been the qui[e]test 4th of July I ever saw it has realy seemed like sunday to me all day

Tuesday July 5th /59

Helping to set wagon tire and fixing to take our loads up into the mountains preparatory to go to mining We are all very well satisfied that mining in these diggings will pay well to a great share of those who persevere but it requires a great deal of hard labor to work a claim.

Wednesday July 6th /59

This morning we intended to start for the mountains but we did not [get] ready in time Bought 2 yoke of cattle of Bowles and 2 yoke and a wagon of Chase. Day fine but very dry and dusty

Thursday July 7th /59

Started for the mountains in company with White, Griffin & C. P. Damman 4 teams of us 12 hundred [pounds] to each wagon got 3 miles into the mountains an[d] broke a wagon tire on our wagon chained it up as well as we could and drove on. camped 8 miles from the foot of the mountain

Friday July 8th 1859

Lost some of our cattle did not find them till 9 o'clock. hitched up and drove on drove over some abominable hills. C. Damman broke a spoke & an axletree out of his wagon we left men to fix it up and the rest of us drove on. we drove in all 8 miles today

Saturday July 9th /59

As soon as we got our pancakes eaten we hitched up and drove on. no bad luck today but awful rough sidling roads. drove about 8 miles and camped at the foot of a high mountani about 1½ mile from the diggings not a spear of grass for our cattle hitched them to our wagons. the mountains have all been burned over this spring and there is but mighty little or no feed any where

Sunday July 10th /59

Early in the morning hitched up our teams and started it took 9 yoke of oxen to each wagon to get up the hill then we had to chain all the wheels to get down on the other side which brought us to the diggings Jerry is awful sick of the trip he says he hopes if he is ever catched in these mountains again that some of his friends will shoot him stowed our loads in an

old hovel and Jerry and Griffin started back with the teams. Saw Strasberger from Janesville had a long talk with him. he has been in the mountains 8 weeks. Towards night C. P. Damman got along in company with Bowles and Chase.

Monday July 11th 1859

Started early with the oxen I bought of Chase & Bowles back where I could find some feed for them in company with C. P. Damman. drove out 4 miles and came acrost a man whom I got to drive the cattle down to the ranch and turned back to the diggings. tremenduous hail storm this afternoon All the boys from Sparta are scattered around in all parts of the diggings.

Tuesday July 12th /59

Sick all day threatened with a fever. I have thought that this would be a hard place to be sick in. it would make a fellow think of home [if] any thing would. Afternoon had another tremenduous hail storm

Wednesday July 13th 1859

Today I feel a great deal better. visited several of the mining operations afternoon rained hard

Thursday July 14th /59

Morning started for the valley went about 5 miles and met C. P. D. and rode his pony back to the ranch. plesant in the valley but I could look back and see that it rained hard in the mountains

Friday July 15th /59

Today busy settling and helping Jerry get ready to start home. Day fine Recd a letter from Mate, Lewis & E. P. Ring

Saturday July 16th 1859

This morning Jerry & Miles started for home in high spirits. day plesant and warm. traded with Ball for an odd Steer & wagon & also trade for a [illegible]

Sunday July 17th /59

Fixing my loads to take into the mountains tomorrow nice weather

Monday July 18th /59

Started for the mountains with my load drove over the first range and camped.

Tuesday July 19th /59

Got onto the road in good season and arrived at the diggings in good season

had no bad luck. had on my wagon about 1000 [pounds] and 4 yoke of oxen. traded off 2 yoke for a pony

Wednesday July 20th /59

Teams started back to the foot of the mountain and I staid in the diggings to sell my load &c traded my pony for oxen

Thursday July 21st /59

Bought an interest in a claim with White & C. P. Damman went to work to open it.

Friday July 22d /59

At work in my claim have not found any dirt yet that pays. the claim adjoining us however pays from 1 to 5 dollars to the pan

Saturday July 23 /59

Became satisfied that my claim was good for nothing and detremined to sell out the first opportunity

Sunday July 24th /59

Sunday is decidedly the busyest day in the week in a mining village. saw at least a hundred drunken men several fights and attended a number of auctions

Monday July 25th /59

Settling up my business preparatory to starting home Sold my claim and provisions Bought a horse and 2 yoke of cattle. It has rained every afternoon in the mountains for the past 3 weeks and in the valley below it has not rained for 3 months

Tuesday July 26th /59

Started for the foot of the mountains. traveled 33 miles on foot got to my ranch a little after dark. mighty tired & foot sore.

Wednesday July 27 /59

Settling up my business and packing up preparatory to starting . . .

Thursday July 28th /59

In good season in the morning we were on our way to the states all in good health and spirits and our cattle in good condition. our company is composed of myself Fred Peck, M. McMillan, Ira Rice G. & H. Griffin, John Damman John Myres, & H. Lovejoy. we have 4 wagons & 55 head of cattle.[57]

[57] The balance of the diary — from July 29 to Kingman's arrival at Des Moines on September 6 — is omitted, since the party followed the same route on its return.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

A box of the papers of Peter A. Dey, early Iowa railroad builder, has been presented to the Society by his son, Marvin Dey. The papers consist of printed pamphlets on railroads and banking; correspondence and papers while Dey was a member of the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners in the 1880's and 1890's; a group of maps of railroad surveys for the Union Pacific and drawings of the Erie Canal; two profile maps of the Union Pacific railroad; a record book in which were kept estimates of distances on the Mississippi and Missouri Rail Road between Davenport and Fort Des Moines; and a number of miscellaneous documents dealing with railroad surveying and bridge building. These documents are a valuable addition to the manuscript collections of the Society.

H. S. Merrick of Washington, D. C., has presented to the Society a group of letters, dated in 1912 and 1913, covering correspondence of his father, C. H. Merrick, regarding early banks in Burlington and Fort Madison.

At the request of Governor William S. Beardsley, Superintendent William J. Petersen attended the meeting of the Mississippi River Parkway Planning Commission which met in St. Louis on November 13 to 15, 1949. This Commission is working out plans for an 1,800 mile highway along the Mississippi River. The government has appropriated $150,000 for a survey of the project and another $100,000 will be added next year. The Commission hopes to have portions of the highway open for traffic by 1953, the sesquicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase, when a celebration will be held in New Orleans commemorating that event. Representatives from ten states attended the meeting in St. Louis.

Dr. Jacob A. Swisher, research associate of the Society, addressed a meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society on November 1, 1949, at Kalona.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

October 8 Addressed Home Economics Ladies, Iowa City.

November 1	Addressed Lions Club, Mt. Vernon.
November 2	Attended Iowa Schoolmasters Walt Whitman Club, Des Moines.
November 13–15	Attended Mississippi River Parkway Planning Commission, St. Louis.
December 12	Addressed Cedar Rapids Women's Club.
December 28–30	Attended annual meeting of American Historical Association, Boston, Massachusetts.

The following persons were elected to membership in the Society from September 1 through December 14, 1949:

Ackley
Independent School
Agency
High School
Ainsworth
Gene Stephens
Albia
Mrs. Albert E. Hollingshead
Albion
Mrs. Frank T. Blanchard
Consolidated School District
Alta
Fairview Consolidated School
Ames
Mrs. Lois V. Holler
Napier Consolidated School
Anamosa
C. M. Strawman
Andrew
High School
Anita
Mrs. Roxy Graham
Ankeny
Public School
Auburn
Public Schools
Avoca
Public Schools
Ayrshire
Fred E. Hilton
Silver Lake Consolidated School
Barnum
Johnson Twp. Consolidated Schools
Baxter
Public School
Beaconsfield
Public Schools
Bedford
Public Schools
James S. Taylor
Beech
Public Schools
Belle Plaine
R. O. Burrows, Jr.
Miss Lucille McKibban
Bellevue
Public Schools
Bennett
Consolidated School
E. K. Clear
High School

Bloomfield
High School
Bonaparte
Public Schools
Boone
High School
Britt
Mrs. Charles T. McLaughlin
Brooklyn
Public School
Buffalo Center
Buffalo Center Schools
Mrs. E. E. Sapp
Burlington
Des Moines County Pub. Schools
A. N. Hopperstad
Miss Helen M. Howe
Mrs. James Schramm
Raymond H. Wright
Callender
Public School
Calumet
Liberty Twp. School
Carlisle
Independent School
Carroll
Carroll Co. Pub. Schools
Casey
Independent School
Cedar Falls
Mrs. Laura Van Horn Cable
Cedar Rapids
Clarence L. Beeson
Mrs. M. H. Collins
Dan Norman Cross
Melvin J. McCalley
Public Schools
Miss Dorothy Shurtleff
John M. Stearns
Centerville
High School Library
Mrs. E. A. Larsen
F. Paul Staley
Charles City
Mrs. H. C. Breckenridge
High School
Chelsea
Public School
Cherokee
Lincoln Junior High School
Churdan
Public Schools
Clarence
Earl Elijah
Clarinda
Mrs. Hilton W. Graham
Mrs. Erma B. Taylor
Clarion
Wright County Pub. Schools
Clearfield
Public Schools
Jerry Jackson
Clemons
Consolidated School
Clinton
A. L. Brown
Matthew J. Hadesbeck
Mrs. Maude Hobbs Johnson
Bruce Townsend
Mrs. J. Morse Watkins
Coin
Consolidated School

Colo
Public Schools
Coon Rapids
Kennard Mogensen
Correctionville
High School
Corning
Public School
Council Bluffs
Dr. Leon Corning Hills
Cresco
Public Schools
Creston
Marshall F. Camp
Cylinder
Mrs. Blanche Stafford
Dana
Consolidated School
Davenport
Miss Louise Dalzell
Mrs. William Ley
E. J. Newel
Howard Redding
G. H. Ruehmann
R. J. Schick
Glenn L. Seydel
Decorah
Mrs. Inga B. Norstog
Winneshiek County Pub. Schools
Delmar
Consolidated School
Denison
Public School
Des Moines
Miss Zola M. Barge
C. A. Baumgart
Warren E. Beach
Howard N. Beard
Leo R. Brown
Gregory Brunk
R. A. Chisholm
Frank A. Clark
Mrs. Patricia Luin Colby
Jonathan M. Fletcher
Frank G. Moorhead
Polk County Pub. Schools
Mrs. Shirley L. Sullivan
Wm. A. Temple
Rudolph W. Weitz
Allen Whitfield
George Yates
De Soto
Consolidated School
Dike
Consolidated School
Dubuque
Dubuque County Pub. Schools
Carl F. Flick
J. M. McDonald, Jr.
W. B. Poinsett
Thos. M. Stampfer
Allen E. Stoltz
Dumont
Consolidated School
Mrs. Gladys G. Kelso
Dundee
Consolidated School
Dunkerton
Public Schools
Dunlap
Public School
Dysart
Dysart Schools

Eldora
Fred K. Schmidt
Elk Horn
High School
Estherville
Boyd J. Berghefer
Carl C. Gronstal
Miss Ava G. Simpson
Fairfield
Mrs. Frank J. De Haan
Bernard Merriam
Ralph M. Sayre
Miss Estella Williamson
Fontanelle
Frost P. Patterson
Fort Dodge
Mrs. Gladys W. Griffith
Garner
Hancock Co. Schools
George
Public School
Gillett Grove
Consolidated School
Gilmore City
Public School
Gladbrook
I. H. Wentzien
Gowrie
High School
Grafton
High School
Grand Mound
Public Schools
Greeley
High School
Greenfield
Adair County Pub. Schools
Greenville
Greenville-Rossie Cons. School
Grinnell
W. J. Stewart
Grundy Center
Junior High School
Hamburg
Mrs. Flora Riedy
Hampton
Franklin County Pub. Schools
Harlan
Shelby County Pub. Schools
Harris
Bernard S. Stronks
Havelock
Consolidated School
Homestead
Wm. Zuber
Hornick
Holly Springs Cons. School
Holstein
High School
Humboldt
Miss Myrtle Hewitt
Public School
Ida Grove
Ida County Public Schools
Iowa City
B. F. Allen
Mrs. Robert Gibson
Johnson County Public Schools
James W. Jones
Dr. C. M. Kos
Mason Ladd
Avery E. Lambert
Henry Linder
Mrs. Allen Maiden

Mrs. Leslie G. Moeller
John A. Oostendorp
Dr. P. W. Richardson
F. J. Snider
James K. Wasley
Joseph G. Wayner

Iowa Falls
F. J. McGivney

Jefferson
High School

Joice
L. B. Bredeson

Kamrar
Independent School

Kanawha
Dr. L. W. Eller

Kent
Joe C. Schobert

Keokuk
Stanley L. Hart
Junior High School
Forrest E. Schwarz
Harold G. Schwarz
Senior High School
Robert H. Walker

Keota
Mrs. C. Forest Miller

Knoxville
Public Schools
Dr. Roger C. Scott

Lake View
Public School

Lamoille
Consolidated School

Le Grand
Miss Myrtle Christenson

Lenox
Mrs. Esther Wallace Dixon

Leon
Decatur County Public Schools
Leon Public Schools

Lincoln
H. T. Wentzien

Linden
High School

Linn Grove
H. Dayle Frame
Highview Consolidated School

Lohrville
Consolidated School

Lone Tree
Public Schools

Lovilia
High School

Luana
Consolidated School

Lytton
High School

Maloy
Consolidated School

Malvern
Mrs. Henry T. Beattie
Dr. J. R. Beckwith
Forrest R. Chantry
Public Schools

Manchester
Dr. R. E. Clark

Marengo
Wilbur O. Carthey

Marion
Rural Independent School
Elmer M. Seevel

Marshalltown
Miss Helen Hurlbutt
Senior High School
Mason City
S. L. Armstrong
High School
Monroe Junior High School
Roosevelt Junior High School
Miss Harriet Schmid
Mediapolis
Consolidated School
Harry C. Selzer
Miles
Consolidated School
Minburn
Washington Twp. Cons. School
Monroe
High School
Monticello
Public Schools
Morning Sun
Consolidated Schools
Mount Vernon
Ralph Bachman
Bruno Beckman
Mrs. J. K. Burr
Russell D. Cole
Hugh J. Croft
Joseph T. Meade
Mrs. Lewis E. Mitchell
Public Schools
E. C. Prall
D. U. Van Metre
S. Vernon Williams
Fred A. Young
Muscatine
Dr. John L. Klein
Nevada
Story County Pub. Schools
Newburg
Public Schools
New Hartford
Consolidated School
Newhall
Consolidated School
Newton
Edward Wilimek
North English
High School
Northwood
Independent Schools
Norway
Consolidated Schools
Oakdale
Jack B. Johnston
Oelwein
P. J. Neubauer
Ollie
Consolidated School
Onslow
Public Schools
Orange City
Sioux County Pub. Schools
Orient
High School
Zion Consolidated School
Osage
High School
Washington School
Oskaloosa
A. E. Augustine
Mahaska County Pub. Schools
Ossian
High School

Ottumwa
Willard E. Dullard
Franklin Junior High School
High School
Mrs. Edna C. Lawrence
Stuart Junior High School
Washington Junior High School
Oxford
Public School
Parkersburg
Independent School District
Quimby
High School
Riverton
Consolidated School
Rock Falls
Consolidated School
Rock Rapids
Public Schools
Runnells
High School
Ruthven
Consolidated School
Saint Ansgar
Dr. J. C. Westenberger
Sanborn
Independent School District
Saratoga
Miss Nellie A. Miles
Schaller
Independent School
Scranton
Consolidated School
Shenandoah
Miss Jennie Arvidson
Miss Ruth L. Dickinson
Public Schools
Sigourney
High School
Spencer
Mrs. Mae De Koster
Mrs. Grace A. Rindsig
Springville
Henry Hood
Stanley
Consolidated School
Stanwood
Consolidated School
Storm Lake
Buena Vista Co. Public Schools
Hayes School
Strawberry Point
Independent School District
Stuart
Public School
Tama
Junior High School
Senior High School
Tipton
Mrs. D. L. Diehl
C. S. Miller
Troy Mills
Troy Mills School
Varina
Consolidated School
Vinton
Consolidated Schools
Dr. L. W. Koontz
Viola
F. B. Collins
Wapello
Mrs. R. D. McCullough
Washta
Grand Meadow Cons. School

Washington
Don Maxwell
Waterloo
Mrs. Robert W. Gibson
Mrs. W. E. Robinson
Waucoma
Elmer W. Kretzschmar
Waukee
Mrs. David S. Kruidenier
Waukon
Allamakee County Pub. Schools
Waverly
George Lane
Wayland
High School
Webster City
Hamilton County Pub. Schools
Weldon
High School
West Branch
Consolidated School
West Chester
High School
West Des Moines
Mrs. Mable Hampton
West Liberty
Miss Frances L. Bodie
Dr. Lester A. Royal
West Union
Fayette County Pub. Schools
West Union Public Schools
Whiting
Consolidated School
Whittemore
Public Schools
Winfield
Mrs. J. A. Smiley
Winterset
Independent School District
Woolstock
Public School
Arizona
Louis B. Schmidt, Jr., Tucson
California
Miss Gretchen McCulloch, Los Angeles
Mrs. J. W. McKee, San Marino
Clarence F. McIntosh, Stanford
Colorado
Mrs. Harriet P. Edwards, Denver
Connecticut
Mrs. W. H. Robinson, Fairfield
New Haven Colony Hist. Soc., New Haven
District of Columbia
Carlton J. Corliss, Washington
Mrs. Ralph S. Gromann, Washington
Lt. Col. Henry S. Merrick, Washington
Illinois
Niels P. Madsen, Villa Park
E. R. Gray, Winnetka
Massachusetts
Mrs. Wm. C. Tannebring, Jr., Beverly
Michigan
Detroit Public Library, Detroit
Dudley F. Wallace, St. Joseph
Missouri
V. W. Greene, Kansas City
Mrs. Carlos G. Tredway, St. Louis

Ohio
Ross County Hist. Soc., Chillicothe
Pennsylvania
Mrs. Fred Nelan, Washington
Virginia
Ronald D. Ross, Arlington
Wyoming
Harold Boice, Rock Springs
Canada
Mrs. W. V. Cone, Montreal

The following persons were elected as life members for the same period:
Cedar Falls — Miss Erma B. Plaehn
Cedar Rapids — Ernest Kosek
Centerville — Mrs. Charles Hickman
Des Moines — Robert D. Jackson
Iowa City — G. R. Davies
Tipton — Marion C. Hamiel
Waterloo — Joe Du Mond
Connecticut — Phil Stong, Washington
Massachusetts — Miss Margaret P. Medary, Boston
South Dakota — John E. Chapman, Sioux Falls

Iowa Historical Activities

A four-year centennial of Cornell College is being observed from September, 1949, to November, 1953, the anniversary date. The observances are under the direction of President Russell D. Cole and Dr. Earle A. Baker. A major feature of the observance will be the raising of the Cornell Centennial Fund.

State Representative Fred Schwengel of Davenport is active in a movement to have the state purchase from Donald Knauer of Pottstown, Pennsylvania, letters pertaining to Annie Turner Wittenmyer of Keokuk, Iowa's famous Civil War nurse. Some of the letters are from Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. The state orphans home at Davenport has been renamed the Annie Turner Wittenmyer Home, and Mr. Schwengel would like to see the letters preserved there.

The Union County Historical Society has appointed a committee, with George A. Hall, president of the Society, as chairman, to arrange for a room for the display of the many Union County relics which have been presented to the Society.

The Des Moines County Historical Association has turned over its funds

to the Burlington Public Library for use in promoting the collections of the library. Plans are being made for a historical gallery in the library, which already owns many documents and relics of early Burlington. An almost complete file of Burlington newspapers is a valuable part of this collection.

On November 22, 1949, Iowa obtained her first national monument when President Truman formally established the Effigy Mounds National Monument. The tract of land, of about 1,200 acres, lying in Allamakee and Clayton counties at the mouth of the Yellow River north of Marquette, has been transferred from the state of Iowa to the federal government. The National Park Service will supervise the preservation of these historic mounds; William J. Kennedy, former district ranger in Grand Canyon National Park, will be superintendent of the new monument. The more than 100 effigy mounds, built by prehistoric Indians and used as burial places, are built in the form of bears and birds. The largest, "Great Bear Mound," is famous in archaeological circles as the largest bear effigy in existence. It is 70 feet wide at the shoulders and measures 140 feet from head to tail. Congress has appropriated $11,119 for use in maintaining the park and for making improvements.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dwight L. Agnew is assistant professor and head of the department of history and social science at Stout Institute, Menomonie, Wisconsin.

George Schulz-Behrend is assistant professor of Germanic languages at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Kenneth F. Millsap is research assistant of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

ESTABLISHED BY LAW IN THE YEAR 1857
INCORPORATED: 1867, 1892, AND 1942
LOCATED AT IOWA CITY IOWA

EXECUTIVE

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN SUPERINTENDENT

OFFICERS

S. T. MORRISON PRESIDENT
WILLIAM J. PARIZEK TREASURER

BOARD OF CURATORS

Elected by the Society

R. O. BURROWS, *Belle Plaine*
CARROLL COLEMAN, *Iowa City*
WILLIAM R. HART, *Iowa City*
RAYMOND J. HEKEL, *Mount Pleasant*
L. H. KORNDER, *Davenport*
H. J. LYTLE, *Davenport*
CARL H. MATHER, *Tipton*
S. T. MORRISON, *Iowa City*
W. HOWARD SMITH, *Cedar Rapids*

Appointed by the Governor

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COVER

"The Attack of the Second Iowa Regiment on the Rebel Batteries at Fort Donelson." This sketch, by Alexander Simplot, appeared in the March 15, 1862, issue of *Harper's Weekly*.

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THE ELECTION OF 1860 IN IOWA

By Kenneth F. Millsap

The decade of the 1850's witnessed the climax of the antislavery movement and the bringing together of the industrial East and the agricultural West. The rapidly expanding economy of this decade separated the West from the agricultural South and fused it with the industrial East. While the West had "hung in the balance" and not aligned itself with either the South or East, the "irrepressible conflict" was not imminent.

At least three major items convinced the people of the West that their cause was with the East. First, there was the common conviction that slavery was wrong. The movement of large numbers of New Englanders into the Northwest from 1850 to 1860 had intensified the already existing antislavery sentiment there. This feeling was fanned by the large religious revivals of the period in which slavery was denounced as a "sin against God." The publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* inspired still more people. Secondly, the construction of the northern east-west railroad lines had joined the important Middle Western cities with the Atlantic seaboard, while the southern railroads did not tie into this system. As a result, the old trade lines between the South and the Middle West were broken and the western trade was shifted to eastern markets. The third influence was exerted by the German immigrants who started arriving in the farmland regions of the Northwest in the 1840's. Despising slavery as reminiscent of the tyranny which they had left behind, the Germans held the balance of power in many communities and threw their influence to the antislavery forces.[1]

The 1850's were also years of political turmoil which led to the formation of the Republican party. The organization of this party was unique in that it was not founded by one small group but by various assemblages of people working independently of one another in several states. Fundamentally the party originated out of one philosophy — "Opposition to the Further Ex-

[1] For a discussion of the fusion of the Northeast and Northwest sections, see Ray Allen Billington, Bert James Loewenberg, and Samuel Hugh Brockunier, *The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective* (New York, 1947), 220–24.

tension of Slavery." However, as a result of the presidential election of 1856, in which the Republican party unsuccessfully ran its first candidate, John C. Fremont, on a platform primarily concerned only with opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories, the party learned that its scope would have to be broadened to win elections. In the period from 1856 to the convening of the presidential nominating conventions of 1860, the Republican party gained strength. This was achieved not only as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott Decision, but because the party widened its horizons and took stands on the questions of a protective tariff, internal improvements, free homesteads, naturalization laws, and aid to railroads. Recruits to the party were gathered from among the northern farmers who wanted free homesteads, and from the industrial groups of the East who wanted increases in the tariff rates. Subsequently, when the Republican National Convention met at Chicago in May of 1860 it responded to the wishes of these different groups and adopted a platform which, among other things, favored a protective tariff, a homestead law, and the exclusion of slavery from the territories.[2] Now the Republicans could appeal to groups that had formerly voted with the Democratic party, such as farmers and mechanics, and it could also solicit the support of the industrial East. Its opposition to the anti-foreign Know-Nothing party likewise attracted the large foreign vote in the North — especially the Germans. While William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Edward Bates, and Simon Cameron had strong support in the convention, Abraham Lincoln was selected as the presidential nominee.

The split within the Democratic party in 1860 aided the Republican cause. One faction nominated Stephen A. Douglas, author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Another Democratic group selected John C. Breckinridge who followed the extreme southern philosophy that Congress had no power to prevent slavery in the territories. A third Democratic candidate, John Bell, was nominated by a group of conservative Whigs and Democrats known as the Constitutional Unionists who "begged" the slavery issue.

In Iowa the last Whig state convention had been held on February 22, 1854, at which time James W. Grimes was nominated for governor. In the

[2] George D. Ellis (comp.), *Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties, 1856-1920, Inclusive* (Washington, 1920), 12-14. For a discussion of the platform, see Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), 148–52, 224-5. For the part played by John A. Kasson of Iowa in writing this platform, see "John A. Kasson, An Autobiography," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 12:349 (July, 1920).

campaign, Grimes issued a paper to the people in which he outlined the political issues and closed by stating that he would fight against the "abandonment to slavery of a single foot of soil now consecrated to freedom." [3] In the August election Grimes defeated his Democratic opponent, Curtis Bates, by 2,123 votes.[4] Before Grimes left the governorship he was recognized as the "Father of Iowa Republicanism."

A meeting for the purpose of formally organizing the Republican party in Iowa was held at Iowa City on February 22, 1856. A platform devoted exclusively to the slavery question was adopted and nominations made for state offices, presidential electors, and delegates to the Republican National Convention to be held at Philadelphia in June.[5] The Republican party at that time contained old-line Whigs, Free Soilers, antislavery Democrats, abolitionists, and others. In the general election of 1856 the Republican standard-bearer, John C. Fremont, while losing the election to the Democratic candidate, James Buchanan, did carry a majority of the northern states. In Iowa, Fremont received 45,073 votes, Buchanan, 37,568. Ex-President Fillmore, the American (Know-Nothing) party candidate, ran a poor third, garnering only 9,669 votes. The total vote received by Fremont in Iowa almost doubled that of Grimes running as a Whig just two years previously. In the gubernatorial election of 1857, Ralph P. Lowe, the Republican candidate, defeated Ben M. Samuels, Democrat, by a vote of 38,498 to 36,088. W. T. Henry, running as an American party candidate, received only 1,004 votes. Lowe's majority of 1,406 votes over his opponents was a heavy drop below that accorded Governor Grimes in 1854. In 1859, Samuel J. Kirkwood, a former Ohio Democrat turned Republican, vanquished the Democratic Augustus Caesar Dodge, the veteran of many a political battle in Iowa, by a vote of 56,502 to 53,332.[6]

The presidential campaign of 1860 in Iowa began immediately after Kirkwood's election, on October 11, 1859. Since the Republican margin of vic-

[3] William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes* . . . (New York, 1876), 50.

[4] *Iowa Official Register*, 1909-1910, p. 523.

[5] For a detailed account of the early history of the Republican party in Iowa, see Louis Pelzer, "The Origin and Organization of the Republican Party in Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 4:487–525 (October, 1906).

[6] For the Iowa vote for presidential and gubernatorial contests from 1846 to 1908 see *Iowa Official Register*, 1909-1910, pp. 522-3. For a vivid account of early Iowa politics, see Louis Pelzer, "The History of Political Parties in Iowa from 1857 to 1860," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 7:179–229 (April, 1909).

tory was not large, many of the party leaders believed that the canvass which would determine the presidency should begin early and be quite intensive. As a result, newspapers were carrying announcements of the call for the Republican and Democratic national conventions within a few weeks after the final results of the state election of 1859 were printed.

As early as December 5, 1859, the Republican State Central Committee called for a convention to assemble in Des Moines on January 18, 1860, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Chicago convention. Each organized county in Iowa was entitled to one delegate and one additional representative for each 200 votes or fraction thereof greater than one-half that was cast for Governor Kirkwood at the last state election. The official Republican announcement, signed by John A. Kasson, explained that the convention was being held in Des Moines in January since it would be "most convenient to procure the general representation of Counties during the session of the Legislature. . . ." [7] An enthusiastic and well-attended Republican State Convention was called to order on January 18 by John A. Kasson; W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque County was elected president, serving with eleven vice-presidents and six secretaries. Benjamin F. Gue, politician and historian, recorded later that:

> So great was the desire of politicians to become members of the convention that Iowa Republicans sent thirty-two delegates, while entitled to but eight votes. Among these delegates were John A. Kasson, William Penn Clark[e], Henry O'Connor, James F. Wilson, William B. Allison, Alvin Saunders, C. F. Clarkson, J. B. Grinnell, William M. Stone, C. C. Nourse, Reuben Noble, H. M. Hoxie, N. J. Rusch, William P. Hepburn, Jacob Butler and William Smyth, all of whom have since attained prominence in Iowa and the Nation.

No resolutions were passed at this meeting and the delegates were not instructed.[8]

Some of the more important Republican journals, as early as January, 1860, began strenuously to advocate holding the National Convention earlier

[7] Des Moines *Iowa Citizen*, December 7, 1859.

[8] Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 2:42. Accounts of the Republican State Convention can be found in the Des Moines *Iowa Citizen*, January 25, 1860, and the Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, January 23, 1860. See also, F. I. Herriott, "The Republican State Convention, Des Moines, January 18, 1860," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 9:401–446 (July-October, 1910).

than June 13, the scheduled date. It was argued that holding the conclave at such a late date was "practically, to postpone the opening of the canvass so long as greatly to operate to our disadvantage, if, indeed, it do not work us a fatal injury." [9] This was the year, according to the Des Moines *Iowa Citizen* when "Nothing but the wildest imprudence and folly on the part of the Republican National Convention, can prevent tht election of a Republican President and Vice President in 1860." [10] When the Republican National Committee did change the date for the convention from June 13 to May 16, some observers wondered whether it was "coincidence or calculation," since the latter date was also the birthday of William H. Seward, one of the contenders for the Republican nomination.[11]

Iowa support for Abraham Lincoln, before the National Convention, was not as widespread as has been the popular belief. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College at Grinnell, wrote that "Lincoln before the Convention was unknown or he made little impression. . . . Lincoln struck us as a surprise." [12] The Keokuk *Whig* commented that the delegates to Chicago were "uninstructed; which was right. All the proposed candidates have friends among them, though we presume no one has a majority. We think Lincoln and Cameron have more friends, very decidedly, than any other two." [13] However, the Des Moines *Register* quoted a paragraph from a St. Joseph paper which stated that the Iowa delegates "were not instructed, but are said to be favorable to the nomination of Wm. H. Seward." The Iowa newspaper replied that:

> The preferences of the delegates are not known; were not asked. There was no attempt whatever to pack the delegation for any particular Presidential aspirant. Mr. Seward has devoted friends in Iowa, as he has in every free State. When his name was mentioned in the State Convention, there was every demonstration of friendly feeling. If the time seemed propitious for the use of his name, nine-tenths of the Republicans of Iowa would declare for his nomination. But, at this time, the universal feeling in the Republican ranks is, that the success of the cause should be held

[9] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, January 16, 1860.

[10] Des Moines *Iowa Citizen*, December 14, 1859.

[11] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, March 19, 1860.

[12] Quoted in F. I. Herriott, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 8:186 (October, 1907).

[13] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, January 30, 1860.

> paramount to all personal preferences. If the Iowa delegation find, when they get to Chicago, that the nomination of Gov. Seward will go further than that of any other man, to secure success, they will go for him with a will. If not, not.[14]

However, many of the county conventions did instruct their delegates to the State Convention to seek the selection of men who would be favorable to certain presidential aspirants. Black Hawk County instructed its delegates to support either Seward or Sumner, while Jasper County supported Abraham Lincoln for Vice President, since the general expression of the county convention seemingly was in favor of Chase for President. Republican newspaper editors were also very cautious in expressing a presidential preference. "Timidity, doubt, and a fear of creating a discordant discussion made Republican editors withhold the names of their favorites for the presidential race course."[15]

The German Republicans of Davenport held a public meeting on March 7, 1860, at which time they resolved that under no circumstances would they vote for Bates, a former Know-Nothing. Their protest stated that Bates was not an "orthodox" Republican since he had supported Millard Fillmore in 1856 on a Know-Nothing platform. Furthermore, they believed that the anti-foreign Know-Nothing philosophy was too strong in the sixty-seven-year-old Bates for any change in creed whereby there would be a vigorous execution of Republican principles.[16] The Iowa Republican leaders could not view too lightly the action taken by this group. The Germans had undoubtedly played an important part in determining the outcome of the 1859 state election when a German Republican, Nicholas J. Rusch, was the candidate for lieutenant governor. These same Republican leaders also realized that in 1860 in Iowa there were approximately 106,081 foreign-born citizens out of a total population of 674,913, and of this number there were 38,555 Germans, followed closely by 28,072 Irish.[17] Therefore, where the margin of victory was small, as it had been for both the Democratic and Republican parties for several years, the deflection of one of

[14] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, February 22, 1860.

[15] Pelzer, "History of Political Parties in Iowa . . .," 217.

[16] The resolutions passed by the German Republicans can be found in the Iowa City *Iowa State Weekly Reporter*, March 14, 1860.

[17] See F. I. Herriott, *Germans in the Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859* ([Chicago], 1915); Herriott, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," 196.

these racial groups from the party organization could mean defeat for that party.

The Democratic party began its activities for the approaching 1860 presidential election by the issuance of a call by Dennis A. Mahony, chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee, on December 2, 1859. The convention convened at Des Moines on February 22, 1860. The primary purpose of this meeting was to select delegates to the Democratic National Convention which was to assemble at Charleston, South Carolina. The ratio of representation was to be one delegate for every 100 votes cast for the Democratic candidates for state officers in the last election, and one delegate for a fraction of forty votes over that number, with the provision that every organized county would be entitled to one representative. However, the call specifically provided that "No county will be permitted to be represented by proxy in the Convention."[18]

Many of the county conventions, including those of Davis, Linn, Woodbury, and Buchanan counties, instructed their delegates to work for the selection of men who would support Stephen A. Douglas. Approximately five weeks after the Republican State Convention, the state meeting of the Iowa Democracy was presided over by I. M. Preston of Linn County. The delegates chosen to the National Convention were: Augustus Caesar Dodge, Ben M. Samuels, D. O. Finch, N. B. Baker, T. W. Claggett, W. H. M. Pusey, J. W. Bosler, and E. H. Thayer. These Iowa representatives were instructed to vote at the Charleston Convention for Douglas as long as he was a candidate before that body. The Democrats adopted ten resolutions which voiced confidence in the administration, deplored the teachings of the Republicans, reaffirmed the national platform of 1856, and approved the action taken against John Brown.[19] The Democrats of Iowa, before the convening of the National Convention, were more solidly behind one candidate — Stephen A. Douglas — than the Republicans were for Abraham Lincoln.

The Iowa Democratic State Convention assembled at Des Moines on July 12, 1860, approximately three weeks after the nomination of Douglas

[18] Iowa City *Iowa State Weekly Reporter*, January 4, 1860.

[19] For an account of the proceedings of the Democratic State Convention, see the Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, February 29, 1860. Louis Pelzer in his article, "History of Political Parties in Iowa . . .," 216, lists this same group of delegates. John D. Denison, *Iowa Democracy: A History . . . 1846-1938* (4 vols., n.p., 1939), 1:154, gives a slightly different list.

at Baltimore on June 23. The convention made its nominations for the state offices and adopted a long platform varying from a blanket endorsement of the action of the several Democratic national conventions to a denunciation of the Republicans.[20]

The "spirit of discord" was at work in the Iowa Democracy in spite of the large number of Douglas ratification meetings held. At Davenport in June a group of Buchanan Democrats ratified the selection of Breckinridge and Lane. Later, H. H. Heath, of the Iowa National Democratic Committee, issued an "Address to the National Democracy of Iowa," which took issue with the Douglasites. A Breckinridge State Convention was held in Davenport on August 15, and while no state nominations were made, presidential electors were selected and a platform that praised the Dred Scott Decision and denied the right of Congress to interfere with slavery in the territories, as well as the right of the territories themselves to prohibit slavery, was reported. The Constitutional Union party held a meeting at Iowa City on August 31, with some forty or fifty delegates present representing approximately fifteen counties primarily in the eastern part of the state. A proposal to nominate a state ticket was overwhelmingly defeated.[21]

After the National Conventions had been held and nominees selected and platforms written, the parties settled down to the work of organizing their activities for the canvass. While the Republican newspapers accepted wholeheartedly the nomination of Lincoln and began at once to refer to him as "Honest Old Abe" in their editorials, the Democratic papers also welcomed that nomination. The Fort Dodge *Sentinel* was "perfectly satisfied with the nomination, believing their 'Uncle Abe' will be more easily beaten than any other prominent man whom they could put in nomination."[22] The Republican newspapers supported with enthusiasm the platform written at the Chicago Convention. A correspondent, signing himself "Teuton," noted some of the important sections of that document when he urged Republicans to

[20] An account of this convention can be found in the Sioux City *Register*, July 28, 1860.

[21] A description of the activities of the factions of the Democratic party is contained in Pelzer, "History of Political Parties in Iowa . . .," 220-24. The most recent national study of the collapse of the Democratic party is Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948).

[22] Fort Dodge *Sentinel*, May 26, 1860. This same belief was voiced by R. H. Sylvester in the Iowa City *Iowa State Weekly Reporter*, May 23, 1860.

> . . . write, speak and vote for Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin — for only with them, as our Chief Magistrates, can we expect and obtain a Protective Tariff, Homesteads for the Poor, a Pacific Railroad, and above all,
>
> Territories and States as great and as free,
> As God and our Fathers have said they should be.[23]

The importance of a thorough organization of all political forces within the state was recognized very early in the campaign by the party leaders. Both Democratic and Republican newspaper editors exhorted the party faithful to organize clubs in every precinct and township. As a result, Republican and Democratic clubs sprang up wherever enough support for such an organization could be found. Normally such clubs were predominant on the county level, with a few of the larger cities organizing their own units.

In some sections a central county club was established with subordinate units in each of the townships and city wards within the jurisdiction of the county. Typical of such organization was the Scott County Republican Club which was formed under a regular constitution which provided that the affairs of the club were to be managed by an executive committee. This committee was to be composed of the president, treasurer, secretary of the club, and the secretaries of each ward club in the city of Davenport and of each township club in the county. It was believed that this type of organization would give the areas remote from the county seat an equal amount of representation in the county club. Another advantage of this plan was that with a "wide-awake" and efficient secretary at the county seat keeping in touch with the secretaries of the township units, any material of interest could be speedily transmitted all over the county. An efficient state committee in correspondence with each county club would give a complete state organization.

Some of the earlier city Republican clubs were located at Keokuk, Mount Pleasant, Oskaloosa, Davenport, and Muscatine. A reading room was established by the Oskaloosa Republican Club where interested citizens could have access to the latest party campaign documents. By the end of April, 1860, the Keokuk *Whig* reported that over 130 Republican clubs had been formed in the state. Many of these clubs met in public halls which they renamed "Wigwams" in honor of the building in Chicago where Abraham

[23] Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, July 25, 1860.

Lincoln had been nominated. The Republicans of Knoxville, not content with renaming a hall, constructed a new building, the dimensions of which were 50 by 22 feet, which they called the "Wigwam."[24] Meetings were held by many of these clubs at least bi-monthly, and as election time approached many of them held weekly sessions.

Soon after the organization of many of the Republican clubs, it was suggested that each unit should sponsor a glee club, and as a result many singing groups were organized. As early as April, a glee club was entertaining the Keokuk Republican Club, even though they "were prepared to sing only one song, but that was a good one." The Davenport *Gazette* reported that a good glee club was connected with the Republican group in that city and suggested that the same arrangement should be made in other communities. To this recommendation the Des Moines *Register* added that there was "music in the souls and music in the voices of the Republicans. They will make melody as they march forward to a victory that is destined to redeem the country from the thraldom of the slave power." In July, 1860, the Keokuk *Whig* reported that it had received a copy of the "Republican Campaign Songster" published by H. Dayton in New York City, and that it was available at 10 cents per copy or $1.00 per dozen. This same newspaper reported that the "Songster" was filled with a variety of songs, "some of them first rate."[25]

The Democrats of Iowa were just as active as the Republicans in forming their political clubs to aid the party in the campaign. The "Douglas Club" at Des Moines was organized early in December of 1859. The Democrats of Iowa City organized a "Hickory Club" with Peter A. Dey serving as president. Other cities rapidly organized their clubs and the Keokuk *Whig* quoted the *Journal* of that city as saying that the "Douglas club of this city has had its constitution ratified by the Baltimore Convention, and will continue in existence till after the election in November." To this the Republican *Whig* retorted that the Douglas Club had had its "squatter sovereign gas bladder collapsed, by the Baltimore Convention, and its continued existence is a matter of not the slightest consequence." Not all of the Democratic clubs organized were for Douglas; the National

[24] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, April 23, 1860; Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, July 25, 1860.

[25] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, April 2, July 2, 1860; Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, April 25, 1860.

Democrats of Muscatine formed a Breckinridge and Lane Club in order to foster the candidacy of their presidential hopeful. Apparently in an effort to match the Republican "Wigwam," many a Democratic club named its meeting place the "Hickory Tree."[26]

As the canvass of 1860 progressed, an organization appeared on the political scene that was to be employed as a means of attracting votes and arousing enthusiasm for the Republican party. This was the introduction of a "semi-military" body to be known as the "Wide-Awakes." Supposedly the group originated quite by accident in Hartford, Connecticut, in the spring of 1860, when a number of young Republicans decided to escort Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, to a lecture hall. Clay was appearing in that state in connection with the spring gubernatorial campaign. These young Connecticut men wore caps and capes made of glazed cloth to protect their clothing from the dripping oil of the torches which they carried. While returning to their homes, one of the group was attacked, probably by a Democrat, but a blow from a torch repelled the individual. As a result, these Hartford men decided to organize themselves so that they could resist any interference at their rallies on the part of political enemies, and protect their speakers by escorting them to and from the meeting places. Therefore, the credit for the original Wide-Awake club is generally given to this Hartford group which later settled on a uniform that became fairly standard throughout the country.[27] The idea of organizing Wide-Awake clubs spread rapidly and from all over the North arose requests for information concerning the purposes of such a body, and the manner in which it should be constituted.

Among the first of such political clubs to be organized in Iowa was the one located at Iowa City. In that city, on June 4, 1860, a meeting of Republicans was held at the "Wigwam" for the purpose of forming a Wide-Awake club. At that time a committee was named to draft a constitution and provide for the rules to govern such a body. A meeting every Wednesday evening at the "Wigwam" was planned in order to conduct the necessary business and provide for drill time. The uniforms were to be made and supplied to the members for $1.50 apiece. This price included

[26] Des Moines *Iowa Citizen*, December 14, 1859; Iowa City *State Democratic Press*, October 2, 1860; Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, July 2, 1860; Waterloo *Courier*, July 10, 1860.

[27] For a detailed account of the founding of the "Wide-Awake" clubs, see Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 173-4.

the cap and ribbon, cape, and torch.[28] Since the Wide-Awakes were a semi-military organization, rank was not completely forgotten in that the "privates" carried the torches, while the "officers" carried colored lanterns. Not all of the clubs made their own uniforms but procured them from different clothing firms in the larger cities, and many merchants did a booming business in this paraphernalia. The Adel, Iowa, Wide-Awake club received its torches and uniforms from Chicago just in time to escort Elijah Sells, the Republican candidate for secretary of state, when he appeared at the courthouse for a speech.[29]

At a meeting of the Johnson County Republican Club on Friday, June 29, the Wide-Awakes, under the command of Captain J. W. Sterling, made their first appearance. Since not enough uniforms could be made in time for this meeting, the ranks were not as complete as anticipated. The club escorted Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood and J. L. Allen, the speakers for the evening, from the Trusdell House to the State University yard. The editor of the Iowa City *Republican* commented: "We think we can claim for this Club, the credit of being the first company of Wide Awakes to make a public parade in the State." In addition, he noted that "When it is considered that they are 'raw troops,' almost without drill, they deserve great praise — officers and men — for their uniformity of step and quick manoeuvering." The Democratic editor of the Iowa City *Reporter* was quick to ridicule this new organization by stating that the motto of the group was "Keep your eyes peeled," and that their favorite song was "We won't go home till morning," which implied their astonishing "Wide-Awake-fulness." He facetiously commented that the emblem of the order consisted of a "Death's Head and cross-bones" which was formed by two rails crossed in the center — rails "out of the three million split by Honest Old Abe" — and "surmounted by the skull of an aged African — supposed by the initiated to be the veritable pate of poor old Uncle Ned."[30]

[28] Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, June 6, 27, July 4, 1860. William Eldon Baringer, in his paper entitled "Campaign Technique in Illinois — 1860," in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society (1932), 249-50, gives a vivid description of the uniforms worn by the members of the Wide-Awake clubs. Olynthus B. Clark is in error in his *The Politics of Iowa During the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Iowa City, 1911), 36, when he states that the first Iowa Wide-Awake club was formally organized at Muscatine on July 20, 1860.

[29] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, September 19, 1860.

[30] Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, July 4, 1860; Iowa City *Iowa State Weekly Reporter*, June 13, 1860.

The editor of the Lyons *Advocate*, the only newspaper in Iowa supporting Breckinridge and Lane, referred to the Wide-Awakes as those " 'very respectable' citizens, whose great love of Republicanism causes them to don a monkey cap, a cape, and a pole with a little flag near its end, and march thro' the streets, to the great amusement of children and some who are older, all for the purpose of — we don't know what." When called to task by the editor of the Lyons *Mirror* for his criticism of the Wide-Awakes, this same writer replied that "the Wide Awake Club of Lyons *is* a big institution — that its members are the cream of society —and that its performances are all very convincing; but if any one asks us why the tails of their coats draw in so when they are on the street in daylight, we shall feel bound to say that its allowing to the good sense of the coats."[31]

Soon after the use of the term "Wide-Awakes" became widespread as the title of the Republican marching clubs, some opposition was reported from different groups, especially the Germans, because of an alleged Know-Nothing background of the term. Typical of these was the comment quoted from the *Chronicle of the West*, a German paper at Rock Island, in the Iowa City *Reporter* which stated that:

> The gentlemen of the "Wide-Awake Club," who are now so zealously blowing their horn, do not appear to know what historical reminiscences are attached to this name. The title "Wide-Awake" first acquired notoriety in 1854, when it graced those bands of nativeists, who somewhat later acquired such celebrity under the name of "Know-Nothings." Persons who lived in New York in 1854, will remember the outrages which those white hatted loafers, who called themselves "Wide-Awakes," repeatedly committed upon the Germans of New York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburg. For the sake of decency, the Republican battalions should have adopted a different cognomen.[32]

Whether this attitude of the Germans cost the Republicans any votes in the election is doubtful, however.

Many auxiliary units with a variety of names sprang up to aid the Wide-Awakes in their campaign activities. Some towns organized mounted groups which were known as the "Mounted Rangers," while the juvenile Wide-Awakes of Keokuk were called the "Lincoln Rangers." By October 1, there were over fifty members and while they could not vote they could "man-

[31] Lyons *City Advocate*, August 11, 1860.

[32] Iowa City *Iowa State Weekly Reporter*, July 25, 1860.

oeuvre as well as their elders, and contribute materially to the 'pomp and circumstance' of a public occasion." The editor of the Keokuk *Whig* commented that this company of young "Lincoln Rangers" had very showy uniforms and made a very colorful spectacle at night by the light of their torches. The young Republican group at Palmyra, Warren County, was called the "Rail Maulers."[33]

A large contingent of Wide-Awakes was always present at the mass meetings held by the Republicans in the fall of 1860. The newspaper announcements of approaching political demonstrations made a special point of inviting the Wide-Awakes from the surrounding area to attend. At a rally held at Fairfield in October, over 2,200 Wide-Awakes, Mounted Rangers, and Minute Men from twenty-two nearby towns were present to march in a parade that was over two miles in length. Approximately 1,000 of these men remained over night and in the morning, with flags and music, rode in wagons around the park several times and then heard one final political speech.[34]

Earlier in September, at Fort Madison, between 500 and 600 Wide-Awakes had appeared at a political meeting where they "made a splendid display, and excited universal admiration and enthusiasm." When William H. Seward arrived at Dubuque in September for his only speech in Iowa he was met at the levee by a large crowd, including 300 Wide-Awakes who escorted him to the Julien House. The protective feature or function of the Wide-Awakes was further emphasized by an incident that occurred at Bloomfield in the same month. While James B. Weaver was addressing a night political rally, some eggs were thrown into the crowd and struck three women, one of whom was quite elderly. Immediately the Keosauqua and Bloomfield Wide-Awakes made a

> dash with their lamps in the direction the eggs came from and caught the miserable devil with the eggs he had not time to throw, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the exasperated crowd could be prevented from serving his dirty carcass as he did his rotten eggs, i. e., making pieces of him. . . . When he was first caught, he cried out, and continued to repeat, that he was a "Lincoln man!" The next night he left the country, and Democracy losing one vote by his running off.[35]

[33] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, October 1, 1860; Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, August 1, 1860.

[34] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, October 22, 1860.

[35] *Ibid.*, September 24, 1860.

The Wide-Awakes of Iowa City invited all their fellow marchers throughout the state to participate in a grand procession at Iowa City on October 4, 1860, the closing night of the State Fair. A final drill was to be held with a purse of $100 to be awarded to the best drilled company of not less than sixty-four members.[36] On October 10, a large Republican demonstration was held at Keokuk with Republicans and Wide-Awakes from Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa participating. The Wide-Awake club of Keokuk presented a full-length portrait of Abraham Lincoln to the best drilled company, and another to the largest company in full uniform. Approximately 2,500 Wide-Awakes attended this rally, and the Fort Madison company won the banner for the best drilled unit, while the Fountain Green Club from Hancock County, Illinois, took the prize for being the largest company present.[37]

As the campaign drew to a close, many newspaper editors commented that the role played by the Wide-Awakes had not only been one intended for torchlight parades, but varied from distributing political documents to serving as checkers and challengers at the polls. Only now and then was there a sinister tone connected with the activities of the Wide-Awakes. One such story suggested that "Should disunion be threatened, President Lincoln will only have to call and hundreds of thousands of patriotic Wide Awakes will rally as one man to the defence of the Union and the Constitution."[38] The editor of the Iowa City *Reporter* paid tribute to the part played by the Wide-Awakes by writing, after the election:

> How can we properly speak of that glorious organization — the Wide-Awakes? We cannot do them justice. In sunshine and in storm, through evil report and good report — first, last, and all the time, they have done their duty. They have marched through mud — they have gone out through the heated season — storms nor cold nor rains have deterred them. They were the trump cards of the campaign by which we were able to play so glorious a game. Now that their work is done, we part with them with regret, and begin already to wish for another campaign if for no other reason than to see these glorious fellows again in uniform marching to the music of the Union.[39]

[36] Iowa City *Iowa State Weekly Reporter*, September 5, 1860.

[37] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, October 15, 1860.

[38] *Ibid.*, August 13, 1860.

[39] Iowa City *Iowa State Weekly Reporter*, November 14, 1860.

The Democrats also put their legions in the field against the "Wide-Awakes." Among the Douglas supporters the more numerous groups were called either the "Hickories" or the "Little Giants" and these units were drill companies with captains and lieutenants similar to the Republican marching groups. They participated in torchlight parades at Democratic rallies but did not always have as colorful a uniform as their Republican counterparts, since normally the shirt was the only distinctive piece of their outfit. The group of Democrats, organized at Fairfield, went under the title of the "Invincible Rangers" while the youthful Democratic group that drilled at Iowa City was called the "Hickory Sprouts." The editor of the Keokuk *Whig* remarked in a humorous vein that the "Douglasites rejoice in political clubs called 'The Little Giants.' The Breckenridge men are about to take the 'life out of them,' however, by organizing similar associations, to be called the 'Giant Killers.' "[40]

Campaign "literature" also played a part in the canvass. To assist in the distribution of congressional campaign documents, the Republican members of Congress appointed a committee of which Senator James W. Grimes was a member. Newspaper editors were commenting, as early as January of 1860, that documents were being freely circulated by Republican Congressmen. A majority of these documents consisted of speeches made by Democratic members of Congress. As justification for this particular practice, one newspaper reported that such documents were "so full of Slavery, Disunion and Treason that nothing else is considered likely to be as effectual in bringing the people to a feeling sense of the true character of the Democratic party, and of the perils with which it has surrounded the country."[41]

The Washington correspondent for the Keokuk *Whig*, upon noticing that a Republican club had been organized in Keokuk, and believing that the organization would need some documents for distribution purposes, published in his column a list of the speeches that were available, noting also the prices of the materials. He remarked, in addition, that these documents would "all be franked by members of Congress. So that, of many of the best speeches, 1,000 can be procured for $5, free of postage." An earlier announcement in the same political column, which listed only a few campaign documents, indicated that even if enough money was not avail-

[40] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, October 17, 1860; Iowa City *State Democratic Press*, August 15, 1860; Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, August 13, 1860.

[41] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, January 23, 1860.

able from the local area, the writer should state "how many more than your money will pay for could be well used, if sent."[42] The following list of documents, some of which were in German, indicates a few of the political leaders who were making important speeches. Furthermore, some of the titles reflect the issues that were to be discussed in the next few months.

Seward's late speech,	per 100	50	cts.
Same in German,	"	$1 00	
Grow's Homestead Speech,	"	50	"
Same in German,	"	50	"
Lands for the Landless, a tract,	"	50	"
Same in German,	"	1 00	
Seward's Rochester speech,	"	50	"
Lincoln's New York speech,	"	50	"
Harlan's late speech,	"	50	"
Same in German,	"	50	"
Speech of Carl Schurz,	"	1 00	
Same in German,	"	50	"
Corwin's late speech,	"	2 00	
Collamer's late speech,	"	1 50	
Blair's Colonization & Commerce,	"	50	"
Doolittle's "Calhoun Revolution,"	"	1 00	
Wade's late speech,	"	1 00	
Wilson's late speech,	"	1 00	
Hale's late speech,	"	1 00	
Hickman's late speech,	"	50	"
Wade on Harper's Ferry,	"	50	"[43]

While perhaps not normally classified as strictly campaign or electioneering documents, newspapers themselves were viewed by many as important items of campaign material. As a result, many of the Iowa newspapers offered special rates for the "campaign" numbers in order to get new subscribers. The Des Moines *Register*, a weekly newspaper, was available for only $1.00 for the eight-month period from April 1 to December 1. If "campaign clubs" of ten subscribers could be secured, the paper would be sent for 75 cents each. The Waterloo *Courier*, in order to extend "its influence during the Presidential campaign," was offered for 75 cents for a six-month period commencing on or about May 22. This newspaper stated, however, that since the above rate was "little if any above actual cost, we

[42] *Ibid.*, March 19, April 9, 1860.

[43] *Ibid.*, April 9, 1860.

shall of course, expect cash to accompany all orders."[44] The Washington, D. C., editorial correspondent of the Keokuk *Whig*, in calling for strong Republican organization and activity, pointed out the role that newspapers could play in a campaign when he wrote:

> Newspapers, live and active journals, are more useful for circulation, as a general thing, for political purposes, than Congressional speeches; if for no other reason, because they are far more likely to be read. The VALLEY WHIG, put into the hands of every Democrat in Lee county, visiting him every week until election, carrying him not only the news of the day, and so commending itself to his examination, but containing current remarks upon political topics, treating them according to the everchanging phases in which they appear, would be a cheaper, more readable and effective document than is likely to be employed for such a purpose. Will not our friends consider these facts, and not overlook so stupidly and entirely as is apt to be done, the most effective means of political influence, for documents which, though often excellent, are sometimes prosy, are transient in their character, and because of their length alone are not often read? Two thousand dollars in six or eight months subscriptions to the VALLEY WHIG, circulated among Democrats, would revolutionize Lee county, to a certainty.[45]

The part played by the newspapers and their editors in this and subsequent campaigns cannot be overestimated. This was a period when newspapers were strictly political party organs and each paper was expected to support a party in the campaign. The independent newspaper was practically an unknown item in the campaign of 1860. Many newspapers were started during the canvass, apparently as an effort to further the dissemination of political information. The Des Moines *Register*, in quoting an estimation made by the Dubuque *Herald* that there were forty Democratic newspapers in Iowa, commented that there were approximately sixty-five Republican journals in the state. The Sioux City *Register* on September 15 stated that the Democratic press in Iowa for Douglas numbered thirty-eight while there was only one journal supporting Breckinridge.[46]

[44] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, April 18, 1860; Waterloo *Courier*, May 29, 1860.

[45] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, March 12, 1860.

[46] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, August 8, 1860; Sioux City *Register*, September 15, 1860. For the activities of one Republican paper in Iowa, the Cedar Falls *Gazette*, see Luella M. Wright, "Henry A. and George D. Perkins in the Campaign of 1860," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, 42:162–91 (April, 1944).

The one Iowa newspaper that advocated the election of Breckinridge and Lane was the Lyons *Advocate* in Clinton County. When that journal placed at the head of its editorial columns the names of the above candidates, the article stated:

> In doing this we do not consider that we are departing in the least from our duty in supporting the regular nominees of the party, for the history of nominations heretofore plainly shows that the names of both Breckinridge and Douglas have equal claims on the score of regularity. Neither of them received the number of votes, two-thirds of the electoral college, which have, since 1832, been considered requisite for the nomination of a presidential candidate by the Democratic party, and without which no name has heretofore been presented to the support of its members. Being equal then on this score it was left to us to decide between the two men, and we make this choice as a right which every man has who calls himself a Democrat at the present time.[47]

This newspaper continued to support, however, the slate of Democratic nominees for the state offices which it had published under its masthead before making a decision on the presidential nominees. The supporters of Bell and Everett had to establish their own newspaper at Muscatine, the *Messenger*, to advocate the cause of their candidates.

A surprise in the field of political journalism occurred when the proprietor of the Democratic Iowa City *Reporter* announced on July 25, 1860:

> After mature deliberation, I have arrived at the conclusion, that I cannot give my assent to the platform of either wing of the late Democratic party, nor longer yield my support to Stephen A. DOUGLAS and Herschel V. JOHNSON as candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States. I therefore announce to the readers of this paper, and the public generally, that the names of DOUGLAS and JOHNSON will no longer remain at the head of our columns, and that hereafter the columns of the REPORTER will be devoted to the dissemination of Republican principles, and the advocacy of the election of Abraham LINCOLN and Hannibal HAMLIN, the candidates of the Republican party for President and Vice President of the United States.[48]

[47] Lyons *City Advocate*, August 11, 1860.

[48] Iowa City *Iowa State Weekly Reporter*, July 25, 1860. A more detailed account of the reasons for the change from Democratic to Republican principles is given in the August 1, 1860, issue.

R. H. Sylvester, editor of the newspaper, retired from his position, but appeared as editor of the Iowa City *State Democratic Press* in August of 1860.

One feature of the campaign of 1860 was the extensive use made by the parties of mass meetings or rallies. These gatherings were all-day affairs with parades in the morning, some of which were over two miles in length, speeches in the afternoon, and a torchlight parade at night by the Douglas "Hickories" or the Republican "Wide-Awakes." As the campaign progressed and joint debates were engaged in, there was always a "pole raising" at the rally, and it became a contest between the Democrats and the Republicans to see which group could raise the taller pole with a Lincoln or Douglas banner floating from the top. At the Curtis-Cole debate held in Bloomfield, the Republicans raised a pole 147 feet high, 50 feet taller than the Douglas pole. At a rally at Ottumwa the Republicans raised a pole 200 feet in length, which was undoubtedly the tallest of the campaign.[49] Once erected, the pole was to remain until the end of the campaign, but it was reported that the Douglas pole at Eddyville was struck by lightning and splintered. Many times in erecting the standard it would break because of its excessive length and would have to be spliced with "Lincoln rails" or "Hickory clubs."

The attendance at all of the mass meetings was quite large. The Republican rallies held at Des Moines in August and Burlington in November were each attended by over 10,000 people. At Keosauqua some 7,000 turned out, while at Bloomfield, on a "stormy and mud deep" day, 2,500 people assembled. When Douglas visited Iowa City in October, it was estimated that more than 20,000 people were on the grounds.[50] The attendance at political rallies today is a far cry from those of 1860 when seemingly everyone attended the political rally regardless of party affiliation.

The joint political debate was employed by several of the major candidates. The popularity of this form of canvass was undoubtedly due to the success of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. The most extensive one in Iowa in 1860 was engaged in by Samuel R. Curtis and Chester C. Cole, the

[49] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, July 4, September 12, 1860.

[50] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, August 13, November 5, 1860; Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, September 12, 1860; Sioux City *Register*, October 20, 1860. The Iowa City *State Democratic Press* reported on October 16, 1860, in commenting on the Douglas rally, that it was "estimated by the Iowa City *Reporter* that the attendant throng numbered *two thousand*; by the *Republican*, *four thousand*; and by competent judges, TWELVE to FIFTEEN thousand. . . ."

Republican and Democratic candidates, respectively, for Congressman from the First District. Fifty-four debates were agreed upon, beginning at Keokuk on August 21 and ending at Pella on October 27, covering as many as possible of the thirty-nine counties in the district stretching from east to west across the southern part of Iowa.

The candidates for Congress from the Second District, Vandever and Samuels, also engaged in a joint canvass, but it was not as extensive as that of Curtis and Cole. Two senatorial electors, Fitz Henry Warren and Lincoln Clark, made several joint appearances in the First District. A discussion in the German language was held in Lee County between Edmund Jaeger and a Dr. Stemple. Henry Clay Dean, a Douglas elector, requested Fitz Henry Warren to appear at different places with him, without giving Warren any choice as to locations or the time of the debate. Dean stated that if it was not convenient for Warren to appear, he would extend the same invitation to Senator James W. Grimes.[51] Le Grand Byington, a Douglas elector from Iowa City, challenged his fellow townsman, Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, to a series of debates in the counties south of the line of the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad. Byington desired a forty-eight hour interval between meetings west of Keokuk County so that he could attend to some business affairs. Governor Kirkwood declined since he had accepted several invitations to speak throughout the state.[52]

The campaign was climaxed by the appearances of Seward at Dubuque, and of Douglas at Iowa City, Cedar Rapids, and Dubuque. Seward campaigned earnestly for the man who had destroyed his own hopes of becoming President. He pointed out that under the Democratic administration the federal government had followed a policy of extending and fortifying "African slave labor" in the United States. In contrast, he stated that "Our policy is to circumscribe slavery, and to fortify and extend free labor or freedom."[53]

The appearance of Douglas at Iowa City on October 9 was even more

[51] Iowa City *State Democratic Press*, August 22, 1860.

[52] For an account of the M. & M. Railroad in Iowa, and a map indicating its route, see Dwight L. Agnew, "Iowa's First Railroad," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY, 48:1-26 (January, 1950).

[53] The text of the address is printed in the Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, October 10, 1860. For contemporary accounts by Charles Francis Adams and his son, who accompanied Seward, see "Campaigning with Seward in 1860," *Minnesota History*, 8:163–5, 170–71 (June, 1927).

dramatic. The Democrats of Iowa City had appointed various committees to insure the success of the rally. Special trains were scheduled to bring the people to this celebration and it was estimated that over 20,000 people were in attendance. In his speech Douglas asked why the parties could not return to the philosophy of noninterference and nonintervention. Major portions of his address were concerned with denunciation of the threats of disunion. He said:

> This Union cannot be dissolved without severing the ties that bind the heart of the daughter to the mother and the son to the father. This Union cannot be dissolved without separating us from the graves of our ancestors. We are bound to the South as well as to the East, by the ties of commerce, of business, and of interest. — We must follow, with our produce in all time to come, the course of the Mississippi River to the broad ocean. Hence, we cannot permit this Union to be dissolved. It must be preserved. And how? Only by preserving inviolate the Constitution as our fathers made it.[54]

As the campaign progressed, favorable returns from several states where elections were held in October stirred the Republicans to greater activity. Douglas was speaking at Cedar Rapids when word arrived that the Republican candidate for governor in the crucial state of Pennsylvania had been elected. A little later the Republican victory in Indiana was announced. At that time Douglas is reported to have told his secretary that Lincoln would be the next President.[55]

There had been no question but that Iowa was a "safe" Republican state in 1860. However, the Iowa Republicans themselves were astonished at the size of the vote. The triumph was complete; the entire state ticket was elected. For President, the Iowa popular vote for Lincoln was 70,118; Douglas, 55,639; Bell, 1,763; and Breckinridge, 1,034. Elijah Sells polled 70,706 votes as the Republican candidate for secretary of state, which was a majority of 13,670 over his Democratic opponent. Similar majorities were received by the other state Republican candidates.[56]

[54] For a description of the Iowa City and Cedar Rapids rallies for Douglas and excerpts from the addresses, see Pelzer, "History of Political Parties in Iowa . . .," 226-8.

[55] George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston, 1934), 496.

[56] *Iowa Official Register*, 1909-1910, pp. 522-3.

IOWA PRESIDENTIAL VOTE BY COUNTY, 1860*

	Lincoln	*Douglas*	*Bell*	*Breckinridge*
Adair	42	44	1	1
Adams	161	92		
Allamakee	1185	1152	9	
Appanoose	854	1222	18	43
Audubon	48	59		
Benton	1028	722	5	2
Black Hawk	1122	551	4	17
Boone	365	447	1	
Bremer	517	452		18
Butler	483	246	1	
Buchanan	962	621	1	10
Buena Vista	6	6		
Calhoun	19	20		
Carroll	25	26		
Cass	167	135	4	1
Cedar	1547	963	29	5
Cerro Gordo	156	58	2	7
Cherokee	10	3		
Chickasaw	550	306		1
Clay	8	13		
Clarke	592	444		
Clayton	2089	1571	5	14
Clinton	1972	1450	51	60
Crawford	47	31		
Dallas	613	434	6	6
Davis	843	1424	226	25
Decatur	680	898	11	
Delaware	1269	785	20	3
Des Moines	1998	1678	156	10
Dickinson	46	7		
Dubuque	2091	3058	63	56
Emmett	36			
Fayette	1529	835		5
Floyd	561	201	1	21
Franklin	228	69		
Fremont	402	516	66	
Greene	121	146		
Grundy	141	19		
Guthrie	326	302		
Hamilton	224	100	2	13
Hancock	29	4		
Harrison	385	357	1	5
Hardin	713	382	2	3
Henry	2148	1065	66	
Howard	385	272		
Humboldt	55	8		10
Ida	4	6		
Iowa	782	681	11	
Jackson	1445	1504	40	13
Jasper	1208	649	13	51
Jefferson	1463	1245	38	4
Johnson	1807	1448	111	26
Jones	1453	1095	4	20
Keokuk	1331	1193	2	14
Kossuth	57	20		
Lee	2618	2635	136	20
Linn	2227	1290	80	24
Louisa	1309	738	26	14
Lucas	587	483	8	
Madison	731	1332	8	10
Mahaska	1640	1331	18	1
Marion	1508	1607	4	21
Marshall	854	403	16	
Mills	441	327	14	16
Mitchell	585	172	1	5
Monroe	880	749	5	18
Monona	109	89		2
Montgomery	152	81	2	10
Muscatine	1839	1283	109	86
O'Brien	8	10	3	
Page	469	287	10	22
Polk	1304	1075	37	22
Palo Alto	4	29		
Plymouth	32	6		
Pocahontas	21	10		
Pottawattamie	412	412	28	29
Poweshiek	693	484	2	
Ringgold	348	181	3	
Sac	15	40		
Scott	2737	1379	115	79
Shelby	100	64		
Sioux	3	10	2	
Story	418	332		
Tama	775	413	5	
Taylor	353	248	7	
Union	198	208		
Van Buren	1667	1548	19	57
Wapello	1398	1685	22	38
Warren	1154	795	40	2
Washington	1726	1055	60	20
Wayne	579	648	7	3
Webster	253	213	1	60
Winnebago	24	25		3
Winneshiek	1382	780		
Woodbury	129	117	5	8
Worth	108	30		
Wright	not	returned		
	70,118	55,639	1,763	1,034

*These figures have been taken from the records of the vote for Presidential electors in the Secretary of State's office in Des Moines.

The Republican newspapers received the election returns with enthusiasm, but an indication is contained in many of their editorials that they did not realize the significance to the Union of the election of Lincoln. One leading Republican newspaper headlined the election returns with "The Union Saved!" and one week later wrote that the disunion "farce" would be "played out" before Lincoln was inaugurated. The same account stated that the "advice of the Republican press is and should be — Let the fire-eaters rave, to their heart's content. Their guns will be spiked at home. The Union sentiment at the South is strong enough to strangle the traitors who would plot for the destruction of the American Government."[57] However, the Democratic press of Iowa seemingly sensed the sentiment of the South and one newspaper wrote that:

> Already the disunion sentiment is assuming shape and form that it never before had, and while we hope for the best, we cannot but fear that the worst may occur, for what could be worse than a civil war in this country. Several of the southern states are already preparing for it, and that too in a manner that betokens honest intentions.[58]

Louis Pelzer, in his study of early Iowa political parties, wrote of the Republican victory of 1860:

> With the election of Abraham Lincoln there ends the ante-bellum period of our political history. Decades of slavery agitation and compromises evolve into the issues of secession and union; the political historian must write "of arms and the man," and the man is Lincoln, rather than Douglas, Kirkwood rather than Jones, and Grimes rather than Dodge. And no longer can the questions of the hour be settled by Chief Justice Taney in the Supreme Court but rather by General Grant at Appomatox Court House.[59]

[57] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, November 14, 21, 1860.

[58] Lyons *City Advocate*, November 10, 1860.

[58] Lyons *City Advocate*, November 10, 1860.

EARLY STREET RAILWAYS IN COUNCIL BLUFFS

By E. Bryant Phillips

Back in the year of 1859, General Grenville M. Dodge, who was to become chief engineer for the Union Pacific Railroad, was dabbling in Council Bluffs real estate.[1] His faith in a Pacific railway to be built west of Council Bluffs was shared by others, and the town was experiencing one of those periodic booms so common to the West. In keeping with this expansive spirit, plans were made for a horse railway which was to be built to the ferry landing.[2] The village of Omaha across the Missouri River snatched the Union Pacific and the spotlight away from Council Bluffs, however, and the street car project as well as the real estate boom dropped from sight.

Ten years later a new company, the Council Bluffs and Omaha Street Railway, was organized and a line was built from the "head of Broadway" in Council Bluffs to the river ferry, three miles distant. Two small cars were purchased, to be drawn by mules, and operation was started early in 1870. The river ferries were evidently unsatisfactory and the new Union Pacific bridge was later used for wagons. The railroad directors finally voted to permit the street cars to use their bridge between the Union Pacific Transfer in Council Bluffs and Omaha.[3]

"Steam dummies" were used for years to draw these "bridge trains."[4] The Council Bluffs and Omaha Street Railway then built a line to the Union Pacific Transfer and hourly service was maintained to the Ogden Hotel in downtown Council Bluffs. The horse car trip in Council Bluffs took twenty minutes and a similar time was consumed by the "steam dummy" in crossing to the Omaha side of the river.[5] Council Bluffs hotels sent representatives

[1] General Grenville M. Dodge, *Personal Recollections* (Council Bluffs, 1914), 8, 9; Homer H. Field and Joseph Reed, *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1907), 1:40.

[2] Council Bluffs *Bugle*, July 20, 1859.

[3] Field and Reed, *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa . . .*, 1:58, 207; Omaha *Weekly Herald*, Jan. 12, Dec. 21, 1870.

[4] Omaha *Weekly Herald*, Nov. 20, 1872.

[5] Omaha *Union*, Feb. 6, 1874; Omaha *Daily News*, July 9, 1873.

on the cars to solicit patronage; these men (usually colored) performed porter service and often made nuisances of themselves. On special occasions, a street car train was drawn from Omaha across the bridge by "dummy," then on into Council Bluffs by horse, but usually the passengers were transferred at the Union Pacific Transfer station on Logan Street.[6] At the Omaha end of the line, passengers waited at a shelter house for a horse car, whence they journeyed to their destination. A major interruption in service occurred in 1877 when a tornado destroyed two spans of the bridge, forcing some of the passengers to cross the river at Plattsmouth, some twenty miles to the south, or to use the ferry which seems to have been operated intermittently.[7]

The poorly drained river bottom on which most of Council Bluffs was built caused frequent interruptions in the street car service. Car tracks settled ever deeper into the mire, resulting in uncertain footing for the horses and a slush, mud, or dust laden rail for the car. A "transfer wagon" was substituted for the street cars on occasion. When street car tracks were raised an inch or so above the mire on Broadway in 1881, there were complaints from drivers of other vehicles. There were also complaints about the cars that were left standing on the streets at night, about high fares, and about poor service. This dissatisfaction culminated in the signing of a petition by more than 2,000 persons who requested fifteen minute street car service from 6:30 A. M. until 10 P. M. with fares reduced from ten to five cents.[8]

Despite all the faults of the street railway, and it had many, the attacks upon it in the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* may have been motivated by a desire for vengeance. John T. Baldwin, one of the owners of the Council Bluffs and Omaha Street Railway, defeated Colonel John W. Chapman, publisher of the *Nonpareil*, as a delegate to the Republican State Convention a week before the *Nonpareil* began its attacks upon the street railway. Chapman and Mayor W. R. Vaughan announced that they would start a line of "Herdics" to Big Lake,[9] a cut-off lake formed by a change in the river channel. This resort was less than two miles from downtown Council Bluffs.

[6] Omaha *Daily Bee*, April 6, 1882.

[7] Picture of bridge destruction at Union Pacific Museum in Omaha; Omaha *Evening News*, Aug. 6, 1878; Omaha *Daily Herald*, Feb. 9, 1881.

[8] Omaha *Daily Herald*, Feb. 25, 1881; Omaha *Bee*, July 14, 15, 22, 26, Aug. 11, 1881.

[9] Omaha *Bee*, Aug. 12, 27, 1881.

Herdics were specially designed omnibuses which took their name from their designer. The newspapers were full of propaganda favorable to Herdics for the next month.[10] Finally these magic conveyances began to arrive, and six of them were run to the transfer station to meet the "dummy train."[11] Whereas the street car fare from some parts of Council Bluffs to the transfer station had been fifteen cents, the Herdic fare was only five cents anywhere in the city. This competition forced the street car company to reduce its fare and to carry baggage free.[12] However, the Herdics were soon "off the streets for a few days" due to the "terrible condition of the streets"; then their schedule was permanently reduced.[13] Mayor Vaughan was reported to be pleased with the revenues, however, and Herdics were at one time operated to Omaha over a pontoon bridge. Some two-wheeled, six-passenger Herdics were also put into service for a time, but poor roads and perhaps inadequate revenues finally drove them off the streets and they were sent to Des Moines where ex-Mayor Vaughan (now a justice) had established a Herdic line.[14] Even before the Herdic line began to fade out, Chapman and three other gentlemen organized the City Street Railway Company, but after a few months of delay this project was dropped.[15]

The Herdic competition had spurred on the Council Bluffs and Omaha Street Railway for a time. Besides fare reductions, cars were run to the transfer station every half hour; an occasional speed war was waged against Herdics; new cars were purchased; a line was built to the fair grounds.[16]

As might be expected, the Street Railway had strained itself financially with the sudden purchase of equipment and the temporary fare reductions. After the Herdics ceased operation, fares were raised. A reorganization occurred which brought the Union Pacific Railroad into the picture as majority stockholder by the purchase of $45,625 out of the $50,000 of stocks in the Council Bluffs and Omaha Street Railway Company. This was re-

[10] See files of the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* for September, 1881, and the Council Bluffs column of the Omaha *Bee* for that same period.

[11] Omaha *Bee*, Oct. 5, 11, 1881.

[12] Omaha *Daily Republican*, Nov. 1, 1881.

[13] Omaha *Bee*, Nov. 15, 24, 1881.

[14] *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 7, 1881; Jan. 30, 1882; Aug. 29, 1883.

[15] *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1881; May 17, Oct. 12, 1882; Omaha *Daily Herald*, Feb. 11, 1882.

[16] Omaha *Bee*, Feb. 3, 7, 21, July 24, Aug. 16, 19, 1882.

ported to be a mere "incident to other transfers" made by the railroad during October, 1883.[17] The street car fares were reduced again to five cents in Council Bluffs, with a ten cent fare on the transfer line. In an effort to economize, some second-hand bob-tail cars (with no rear platform) were brought over from Omaha and fare boxes were installed in place of conductors; for lack of a turntable these cars were run wrong-end-to part of the time. It was recorded that a Broadway car kept dropping pieces along the track until, when it reached the barn, "all its base boards were gone." There were some complaints about the company's paving policy, or lack of it, and about a new line that was promised but never built.[18]

The Union Pacific was losing money ($1,058.69 in 1884; $3,343.34 in 1885) on the Council Bluffs and Omaha Street Railway, but it bought eight new cars, built turn-out switches along the line, and started fifteen minute service, "to see whether it was worth keeping."[19] Attempts to dispose of the street railway failed, and it was incorporated anew as the Council Bluffs Street Railway Company with a funded debt of $16,000, representing recent construction costs and operating losses. Patronage increased in 1887, due perhaps to the improved service. The company had an operating surplus of nearly four thousand dollars, but back taxes of five thousand dollars and some new construction left a net deficit of $4,178.70.[20]

The Union Pacific renewed its bridge across the Missouri River in 1887. It planned to build separate tracks on the new bridge for street cars which were to be operated directly from Council Bluffs to Omaha.[21] During 1887, the Union Pacific actually developed its local service to include hourly "dummy trains" operated through from Ninth and Broadway in Council Bluffs to South Omaha, with stops in Omaha at the depot, at Twentieth, and at Twenty-fourth streets.[22] But a rival bridge corporation, the Omaha and

[17] Henry V. Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States* (New York, 1870–1940), *1885*, 758 (hereafter listed as Poor, *Manual . . .*); Council Bluffs *Globe*, Oct. 15, 1883.

[18] Omaha *Bee*, Oct. 24, 29, 1883; Aug. 21, Dec. 16, 1885; May 14, 1886; Council Bluffs *Globe*, Oct. 16, 19, 22, 23, 1883. For discussion of the paving policy, see Omaha *Bee*, May 20, 1884, to Dec. 16, 1885.

[19] Poor, *Manual . . ., 1885*, 759; Omaha *Bee*, Aug. 9, 12, Sept. 4, 1886; Aug. 24, 1887.

[20] Poor, *Manual . . ., 1886*, 764; *1888*, 896.

[21] *Ibid., 1886*, 764.

[22] Omaha *Bee*, April 20, 1887; C. R. Allen, Map of Council Bluffs in 1885, Council Bluffs City Library.

Council Bluffs Railway and Bridge Company, which had just been formed, bought out the Union Pacific holdings in the Council Bluffs Street Railway — $45,000 in first mortgage 6 per cent bonds which were guaranteed by the new street railway company.[23]

The idea of another bridge had often been discussed. Projected street car lines to the ferry, or over projected new bridges, were not new, but when the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway and Bridge Company was organized, things began to happen. The Council Bluffs Street Railway was absorbed and a decision was made to electrify and extend the lines, to build a bridge, and to operate cars thereon to Omaha. The Council Bluffs city council responded by passing a special ordinance to expedite the new enterprise.[24] Senator William B. Allison of Iowa obtained Congressional and War Department permission for the bridge; specifications were made, bids received, and the contract was let.[25] The Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railway contested the street car company's right to build its bridge and the company had to change specifications to permit the use of their structure by trains before they received War Secretary W. C. Endicott's final approval.[26] As construction of the first pier progressed, permission was granted for the Douglas Street approach in Omaha, and Council Bluffs real estate boomed.[27]

During the forepart of 1888 bridge construction was delayed by climatic, engineering, and supply difficulties. Then, too, the War Department had to be convinced again that its specifications were being met. Throughout the summer, the car line was being built from Broadway in Council Bluffs out Avenue A to the bridge; new electric cars were purchased and test runs were made.[28] As "opening day" approached, governors, senators, congress-

[23] Poor, *Manual . . ., 1889*, 876.

[24] Omaha *Weekly Republican*, Dec. 5, 1874; Omaha *Bee*, May 28, 1879; Sept. 28, Dec. 8, 1885; Oct. 16, 21, 27, 29, 30, 31, Nov. 2, 1886; Sept. 8, 1887; Omaha Board of Trade, *Tenth Annual Report, 1886*, 51; Field and Reed, *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa . . .*, 82; Map of Council Bluffs, 1892, in Council Bluffs City Library.

[25] Omaha *Daily Republican*, Dec. 12, 1886, Mar. 21, 1887; Omaha *Bee*, April 6, 26, 1887. The bids ranged from $402,000 to $485,000, *ibid.*, May 21, 1887. The Edgemoor Iron Co. of Wilmington, Del., bid low and received the contract, *ibid.*, May 22, 1887.

[26] Omaha *Bee*, June 1, 9, 15, 17, 1887; Omaha *Daily Republican*, July 26, Aug. 20, 1887.

[27] Omaha *Daily Republican*, Aug. 27, Sept. 28, Oct. 7, 1887; Jan. 28, 1888; Omaha *Bee*, Sept. 16, Oct. 8, 21, Dec. 23, 1887.

[28] Omaha *Bee*, Jan. 18, 19, 20, 22, Mar. 15, May 9, 25, July 28, Aug. 8, 20, 25, Oct. 4, 9, 14, 18, 30, 1888; Omaha *Daily Republican* Feb. 22, 23, 1888; Alfred Sorenson, *The Story of Omaha . . .* (Omaha, 1923), 632.

men, mayors, engineers, military bands, policemen, and firemen began to converge. One day earlier, a Council Bluffs pastor (the Reverend Mr. Mackay of St. Paul's Church) had preached a sermon on "Blessed Be the Tie that Binds," with frequent allusions to the new bridge. A day before that, the "Bridge Company" had requested the bonus promised by the Council Bluffs city council, and for a week Manager Tom Evans of the Bridge Company ran an advertisement pertaining to the merits of certain lots in "Evans Addition" just across the bridge in Council Bluffs.[29]

The Council Bluffs cars did not run regularly across the bridge for two months due to various delays, and the management had to remind patrons that the service on bridge opening day was "premature." Street car operation and central power station technique had yet to be perfected, but the new cars were "handsome," well heated, and well illuminated. The ride across the bridge was quite a novelty and as many as ten cars were used on the "bridge line," upon occasion.[30]

On one Sunday in its first year of service, fifteen thousand persons rode the Council Bluffs cars. In fact the load was so great upon the power supply that four cars had to be "laid off" at four o'clock.[31] Passengers paid a five cent fare for a ride in Council Bluffs, or a ten cent fare if they crossed the bridge. The conductor passed through the car ringing up the fares on his "breast fare register," and the ten cent customers received tickets which were taken up as the car crossed the bridge. The car company sought to raise its fare from ten to fifteen cents (round trip for twenty-five cents), but at the same time there was a loud clamor in Council Bluffs for a fare reduction. The company was not free to set its own rate, for in accepting the $60,000 bonus from Council Bluffs, it had agreed to a top fare of ten cents.[32]

Within a year the Council Bluffs tram company had accumulated considerable ill will. The six mill levy to raise the $60,000 bonus for the bridge was attacked on the grounds that the company of Council Bluffs men to whom the bonus had been promised had been superseded by a Nebraska

[29] Omaha *Daily Republican*, Oct. 5, 24, 30, 1888; John Letham, *Historical and Descriptive Review of Omaha*, 20, 29, 31; Omaha *World Herald*, Nov. 1, 1937; June 20, 1938; Omaha *Bee*, Oct. 28, 29, 1888.

[30] Omaha *Bee*, Nov. 2, 8, 11, 17, 21, 25, Dec. 10, 11, 18, 26, 1888; Jan. 13, 15, 16, Feb. 11, Mar. 11, 1889.

[31] *Ibid.*, June 14, 1889.

[32] *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1888; Feb. 12, 15, April 8, 19, May 7, 1889.

corporation of the same name — the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway and Bridge Company.[33] This attack was accompanied by a new crop of competing street railway projects, each promising lower fares. A pontoon bridge was advocated again; a Consolidated Street Railway Company was actually incorporated to run cars on the outer flanks of the new Union Pacific bridge; and the Milwaukee railroad came forth with another of its periodic projects.[34]

But these plans came to naught when the Union Pacific made suitable arrangements with several rail lines, and opened its bridge to the free use of wagons.[35] The street car company hinted at a five cent fare on the bridge line during certain periods of the day, and it distributed six hundred passes generously among Council Bluffs bigwigs, in spite of the protests of the chief stockholder, Tom Evans. When these free passes were stopped a few months later, the street car company was in hot water.[36]

The argument about the Iowa corporation and the Nebraska corporation, each named Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway and Bridge Company, was revived.[37] A five cent fare to Omaha and a three cent fare in Council Bluffs were requested and the company's charter was being threatened. The city council even threatened a two cent fare ordinance and planned a joint meeting with the Omaha city council.[38] Some businessmen conferred with the company and received only a suggestion that if the bridge bonds were assumed by the two cities, the company would institute a five cent fare if earnings were guaranteed upon its capitalization. This free bridge offer might have been a bargain in the automobile age of three decades later, but the whole proposition was not acceptable in the street car days of 1893. But just then the street car company received a blow that brought

[33] *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1888; Aug. 3, 1889; Omaha *Daily Republican*, Aug. 3, 1889.

[34] Omaha *Bee*, Oct. 6, 10, 1888; Oct. 7, 1889; Jan. 1, 1890; Oct. 5, 1891; Omaha *World Herald*, Dec. 10, 1891; Omaha Board of Trade, *Tenth Annual Report, 1886*, 764; *Eleventh Annual Report, 1887*, 73; *Twelfth Annual Report, 1888*, 67. The bridge with outer flanks was to be 56 feet 3 inches wide; street car tracks are referred to in the 1886 and 1887 reports only.

[35] Omaha *Bee*, Mar. 31, July 23, 1891. Bridge toll-takers had taken in only $1.45 in a month, *ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1889.

[36] Omaha *Daily Republican*, Aug. 2, 1889; Jan. 2, 1890; Omaha *Bee*, Dec. 25, 28, 1889; Jan. 15, April 13, 1890.

[37] Omaha *Bee*, Feb. 9, 15, Mar. 6, July 19, 1893; Omaha *World Herald*, May 12, 1893.

[38] Omaha *Bee*, Feb. 24, May 1, July 27, Sept. 7, 8, 1893.

it around, and it promptly sold commutation rides fifty for $3.50, and hastened to pay some contested tax assessments.[39]

The jolt that had worked this miracle was an adverse court decision revoking the charter of the Iowa corporation for having parted with its rights illegally to the Nebraska corporation. The Nebraska corporation was decreed to have no rights whatsoever in Council Bluffs, and the property was placed in the hands of a trustee.[40] The directors skipped their annual meeting in 1894, but before the year had passed, Judge J. E. F. McGee's decision had been reversed by the State Supreme Court, and the company regained all of its rights except that of transferring the $60,000 bonus to the Nebraska corporation.[41]

The history of the Council Bluffs tram lines during the nineties consists chiefly of litigation and competition. The street car company was sued for accidents too numerous to mention. It was enjoined by property owners on Pierce Street when building a new line thereon; and then it was compelled later to operate its Omaha cars on that line.[42] The new line being built on Fifth Avenue resulted in several damage suits, and the Fairmont Park line was ten years in building due to negotiations over a cut necessary for cars to enter the park.[43] As one might suspect, the street car company's troubles were too frequent to be casual. It all began innocently enough in the form of an unimportant car line to Lake Manawa.

In 1881, a Missouri River flood left a cut-off lake (Lake Manawa) south of Council Bluffs.[44] Early in 1887 the city council in Council Bluffs was asked to pass an ordinance for a cable or motor road from the Union Pacific "dummy depot" at Ninth and Broadway, south to Lake Manawa. The ordinance was granted, and a $45,000 motor line was announced.

[39] *Ibid.*, May 6, 12, 13, 1893; Feb. 2, 1894; Omaha *World Herald*, Aug. 31, Nov. 25, 1893; Jan. 5, Feb. 27, 1894.

[40] Spencer Smith *v.* The Omaha & Council Bluffs Railway & Bridge Company of Iowa and The Omaha & Council Bluffs Railway & Bridge Company of Nebraska, 97 *Iowa*, 545; Omaha *World Herald*, Dec. 29, 31, 1893.

[41] State of Iowa *ex rel.* J. W. Crossland *v.* Omaha Council Bluffs Railway & Bridge Company of Iowa, and the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway & Bridge Company of Nebraska, Appellants, 91, *Iowa*, 517; Omaha *World Herald*, Oct. 3, 1894.

[42] Omaha *Bee*, Aug. 25, 1889; Sept. 14, 1897; Feb.. 17, Mar. 2, 1898; Omaha *Daily Republican*, Sept. 3, 1889.

[43] Omaha *Bee*, June 19, Aug. 18, Sept. 18, Oct. 16, 17, 18, 1889; Aug. 9, 1897; May 19, 1900; Omaha *World Herald*, June 22, 27, Aug. 17, 1900.

[44] Sorenson, *Story of Omaha* . . ., 538.

After some hesitation, the charter was amended to permit the use of steam engines and cheaper "temporary tracks" than had been previously allowed in Council Bluffs streets. A bonus of $15,000 was subscribed by local citizens to further the project, but many subscriptions were defaulted a year later. Two "noiseless" Baldwin steam motors were ordered and one of the owners announced that service would begin in thirty days.[45]

The Manawa motor line had built two miles from Broadway south on Ninth Street to Twentieth Avenue, when a shortage of materials developed. A more serious problem was that each of the various railroad lines which radiate into Council Bluffs from the east had to be dealt with for crossing rights. The route had to be changed a bit to suit the Rock Island railroad and the crossing cost $5,000 more than had been anticipated. Finally a creditor, the Chicago Lumber Company, filed a lien against the company, and it passed into the hands of F. C. Reed late in 1887.[46]

The new owner reordered materials and prepared to complete the line. But again, railroad crossing rights could not be negotiated and passengers had to be transferred by hacks at the "Milwaukee crossing" and brought into the center of the city. The laws of Iowa allowed a motor company to cross any railroad track, but the legal difficulties seemed insurmountable at the moment to owner Reed. Sheriffs' condemnations, citizens' petitions, city council orders, and the wrath of the Council Bluffs Board of Trade finally combined to effect agreements with all but the Milwaukee railroad which owned eight of the fifteen tracks the Manawa motor line crossed.[47]

The Lake Manawa line was well patronized for a time with hacks carrying the passengers from town out to the motor line tracks. Later, the Council Bluffs street cars carried motor line passengers out to the railroad crossings, from whence they continued by motor to Lake Manawa. Finally the city council brought representatives of the Milwaukee railroad and the Manawa motor line together with the result that the injunctions were dissolved in exchange for a promise by the Manawa line officials that they would maintain flagmen at the crossing.[48]

After some irregular service the first year, more cars and motors were

[45] Omaha Bee, Feb. 10, 28, April 20, 29, May 4, 7, June 14, 1887; Sept. 6, 1888.

[46] Omaha *Bee*, June 23, 27, July 2, Aug. 1, Oct. 15, Nov. 17, 1887.

[47] *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, Mar. 18, 26, 28, 29, May 17, June 6, 1888; Omaha *Daily Republican*, Mar. 16, 27, 1888.

[48] Omaha *Bee*, May 21, June 9, 24, July 6, 26, 1888.

purchased and a regular half-hour frequency was instituted.[49] The Manawa line connected with all Council Bluffs car lines and connections with the Union Pacific "dummy trains" were such that passengers were supposed to be delivered from Omaha to Lake Manawa in thirty minutes. The fares were reduced from twenty-five cents for a round trip to ten cents each way, and at times business was so good that five-car trains were operated.[50]

The Lake Manawa line may have been a bonanza in 1890, but something happened to change all that a few years later. The round-trip fare was raised to fifty cents from Council Bluffs to the Lake in 1892, then the company went into receivership in 1896.[51] The line operated intermittently, then was sold in 1899 for $17,500, reportedly to men connected with the Omaha Street Railway.[52] Though the Omaha interests seemed to be somewhere behind the scenes, the actual owners turned out to be a Chicago syndicate, Townsend, Reed and Company. This group advanced $600,000 and capitalized the Omaha, Council Bluffs and Suburban Railway Company for $1,600,000.[53]

The combination of the East Omaha Street Railway with the Manawa line into the Omaha, Council Bluffs, and Suburban Railway Company, led immediately to a dispute with the "Bridge Company"— the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway and Bridge Company. There were injunctions and track laying by night on Sixteenth Avenue in Council Bluffs by both companies, as they maneuvered for strategic streets.[54] As the new "Suburban

[49] *Ibid.*, June 9, Aug. 8, 1888; Feb. 20, 1889. Ten steam motors are listed in Poor, *Manual . . ., 1889*, 46; a year later this source mentions only four steam motors and eight cars, *ibid., 1890*, 1195. Two new cars were twenty-six feet long, each with double trucks, Omaha *Bee*, Feb. 26, 1889. Some of the new cars were "open" summer cars, and one had a capacity of 80 passengers, *ibid.*, April 9, 1889.

[50] Omaha *Bee*, Mar. 3, July 24, 26, 1889; Aug. 24, 1890.

[51] Omaha *World Herald*, July 20, 1892. The round-trip fare was down to ten cents in 1899 with free admission to the Plaza, *ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1899. Charles R. Hannan was receiver from June 1, 1896, until November of 1900. The Citizens State Bank was the chief creditor, Omaha *Bee*, June 19, 1901.

[52] Omaha *World Herald*, Aug. 27, 1899; Omaha *Bee*, June 19, 1901.

[53] Poor, *Manual . . ., 1900*, 887.

[54] The directors of the Omaha, Council Bluffs & Suburban Railway were R. S. Reed and George Townsend of Chicago; A. B. DeLong and C. R. Hannan of Council Bluffs; and F. F. Espenschied of St. Louis. Townsend acted as president; Reed was secretary and general superintendent; Espenschied was vice-president. Poor, *Manual . . ., 1900*, 887. Omaha *Bee*, Nov. 20, 1899; Omaha *World Herald*, Sept. 17, 1899.

Company" planned to electrify its Manawa line and to connect with the East Omaha bridge, the old "Bridge Company" countered with a proposed line to Lake Manawa and chartered the Lake Manawa and Manhattan Beach Railway for this purpose. The new company, the Lake Manawa and Manhattan Beach Railroad, was incorporated for $500,000 to serve the purposes of the "Bridge Company." Both companies sent representatives to St. Louis to buy an important strip of land on Sixteenth Avenue in Council Bluffs, but neither was successful. There followed a fierce legal battle for the use of Main Street from Tenth to Sixteenth avenues. Streets were torn up by the new Lake Manawa and Manhattan Beach Company without authority and several injunctions were served. The new "Suburban Company" also attacked the validity of the "Bridge Company's" Council Bluffs franchise, saying that the only publication it had received was at eleven o'clock one night with the secretary of the Bridge Company acting as the only newsboy to proclaim the ordinance to those who might have cared to read it.[55]

As the litigation waxed hottest, the new "Suburban Company" made preparations for running cars from Farnam Street in downtown Omaha through East Omaha and to Council Bluffs with high speed (forty miles per hour) electric cars, and it was reported that many motormen were coming to Omaha from neighboring cities to seek employment on this new line.[56] There were also rumors that each company had tried to sell out to the other.[57] As if to intensify and complicate the struggle, Gurdon Wattles of the Omaha Street Railway bought $750,000 worth of stock (a controlling interest) in the new "Suburban Company." Wattles immediately announced that if the "Bridge Company" built a line to Lake Manawa, the "Suburban Company" would parallel every one of its lines. That same day the Iowa Supreme Court sustained an injunction against Mr. Wattles' "Suburban Company" which prevented further building until the case was settled. The Council Bluffs city council obliged the new "Suburban Com-

[55] Omaha *News*, Nov. 20, 1899; Omaha *Bee*, Nov. 22, 25, 29, 1899; Feb. 14, 1900; Omaha *World Herald*, Dec. 24, 1899.

[56] Omaha *World Herald*, June 1, 1900; Omaha *News*, June 24, 1900.

[57] The new "Suburban Company" tried to sell out for a quarter of a million. The old "Bridge Company" tried to sell out for a million dollars. Omaha *Bee*, June 24, 1900.

pany" a few days later, however, by granting the right to build on streets as requested.[58]

Just as the argument between the two Council Bluffs companies reached a climax, it was rumored that a consolidation had been effected. A temporary traffic agreement was announced in which the older "Bridge Company" operated cars on the "Suburban Company's" line to Lake Manawa. A few days later the older company's employees replaced those of the new company entirely, and a real consolidation seemed apparent. W. S. Cox had replaced Townsend and Reed in the "Suburban Company" directorate, and now Mr. Cox and Gurdon Wattles had delivered their holdings to the older "Bridge Company," thus effecting a consolidation.[59] Since Wattles and several other directors of the "Bridge Company" were also directors of the Omaha Street Railway, there were many who anticipated another merger. This union, which came in 1902, gave rise to the present Omaha and Council Bluffs Street Railway.[60]

The era of expansion, development, and competition was ended. After consolidation in 1900, Council Bluffs street cars ran smoother, faster, and more often. The very precision and stability of the later period make dull reading. The glamour had departed.

[58] Mr. Wattles' backer was Sumner Wallace, a New Hampshire capitalist. Omaha *World Herald*, June 27, 28, 29, July 3, 1900.

[59] The "Bridge Company" assumed $368,000 debts of the "Suburban Company." Gurdon Wattles became president and George F. Wright became secretary of both companies until they were eventually merged. Omaha *News*, July 20, Nov. 2, 1900; Omaha *World Herald*, July 6, 15, 28, 1900; Omaha *Bee*, July 6, 25, 28, 29, 1900.

[60] Poor, *Manual . . ., 1901*, 907; U. S. Census, *Transportation*, 1902, p. 242; Omaha *World Herald*, July 27, 1900.

THE ADOPTION OF HOMESTEAD EXEMPTION IN IOWA

By Lena London

Security against want was a desideratum as prevalent in the nineteenth century as it is today, though it was expressed in different phraseology. Where today we ask "freedom from want" for all, in the second third of the nineteenth century every family dreamed of owning its own home which it could call the family homestead and of having some sort of guarantee that this home would not be taken away from it in times of economic distress. The possession of such a homestead was felt to be the best guaranty of economic security.

It was the desire to combat economic insecurity and to prevent the recurrence of the scenes witnessed during the depression which followed the panic of 1837, when family after family was turned off the land it had cleared or tilled for years, that gave birth to the idea of homestead exemption. Following the example of Texas in 1839, state after state, east as well as west, north as well as south, enacted homestead exemption laws. Not content with mere statutory exemption, between 1845 and 1860, Texas, Wisconsin, California, Michigan, Indiana, Maryland, and Minnesota incorporated homestead exemption provisions into their constitutions.[1]

The homestead exemption reserved the family abode, sometimes within certain specific limits of acreage and monetary valuation and sometimes merely within the limits of a "reasonable amount of property," from distraint for debt.

Homestead exemptions were supported by divergent groups. They were demanded by the land reformers, as a part of the agrarian doctrine of natural rights which its adherents hoped would prove to be a universal panacea. They believed that man had a natural right to use the materials of nature necessary to his existence. Hence, light, air, water, and soil are

[1] Francis N. Thorpe (ed.), *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws . . .* (7 vols., Washington, 1909), 1:404; 2:1075; 3:1726; 4:1965-6, 1993; 6:3561-2; 7:4078; Ben P. Poore (ed.), *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the United States* (2 vols., Washington, 1878), 1:205, 513, 847, 1009-1010; 2:1030, 1778, 2029.

man's natural rights. Every natural right has three cardinal points — individuality, inalienability, and equality. In the doctrine of natural right to the soil, individuality was to be secured by freedom of the public lands (i. e., ownership of part of the public domain to be granted gratuitously to actual settlers); inalienability was to be obtained by homestead exemption; and equality was to be attained by land limitation.[2] On the frontier, homestead exemptions were championed to stimulate the settlement of the wilderness; while in the east, homestead exemptions were urged to aid the workingmen by drawing off or threatening to draw off the surplus labor supply and thereby acting as a safety valve in an economic crisis. Everywhere, the debtor elements of society sought to secure homestead exemptions in order to further their own interests. Then, too, homestead exemptions were regarded as promoting democracy by fostering a spirit of security which helped preserve a feeling of freedom and independence so essential to the continuance of democracy.

The earliest discussion of the question of inserting a clause guaranteeing homestead exemption into a state constitution took place in Iowa's constituent assembly of 1844. This was the first time that a constitutional convention considered the inclusion of homestead exemption into a state constitution, even though in the end the scheme was rejected.

The panic of 1837 was followed by a depression that hit everyone, but farmers most of all. Governor Robert Lucas in his first annual message to the territorial legislature of Iowa, November 12, 1838, showed his concern for the debtor by his denunciation of "the odious principle of imprisonment for debt" and by his eloquent plea "that that relic of the barbarous ages that has been permitted to remain as a blot on the laws of some of the states, will never be permitted to soil the pages of the statutes of Iowa."[3] Iowa's first territorial legislature, on January 25, 1839, enacted two measures relating to debtors. The first enabled a person arrested for

[2] John R. Commons (ed.), *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (10 vols., Cleveland, 1910), 7:30–36, 288–324; Henry E. Hoagland, "Humanitarianism (1840–1860)," in John R. Commons, *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1918), 1:522–7, 531; Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776–1936* (Princeton, 1942), 99; Helene S. Zahler, *Eastern Workingmen and National Land Policy, 1829–1862*, in *Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture* (New York, 1941), 7:33–6, 68-9.

[3] Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838–1841: Governor Robert Lucas* (Iowa City, 1906), 48; Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903–1905), 1:82.

debt to be discharged from custody by furnishing sufficient security in the form of a bail bond. The second reserved from distraint for debt the wearing apparel of the debtor and provided that the defendant's real estate was to be exempt from execution for debt until after his personal property had first been levied upon and sold.[4] A year later, on January 17, 1840, Iowa's second territorial general assembly abolished imprisonment for debt upon any original or mesne (i. e., intermediary) process unless the plaintiff made an affidavit stating that the debtor was about to leave the territory or remove his property therefrom.[5]

But this legislation did not solve the debtor problem. The year 1843 was one of the worst in the west in regard to the money market. Many of the western bank notes had gone out of circulation, land values had decreased tremendously, and the prices of agricultural products had declined to a very low level. Almost everyone was in debt, and a great deal of property was sold on execution for debt at reduced rates far below the nominal value. Consequently, the Iowa legislature in 1843 again gave its attention to the alleviation of the financial distress of the territory.[6]

On February 8, 1843, imprisonment for debt upon final process was abolished except in the case where the creditor upon affidavit declared that the defendant was about to abscond. This loophole whereby the creditor could still cause the incarceration of the debtor by a mere affidavit asserting that the plaintiff thought the defendant might abscond, was eliminated February 14, 1844, by a statute proclaiming that "no person shall, after the passage of this act, be arrested, held to bail or imprisoned, on any original mesne or final process or execution, issued in any civil suit instituted in any court in this Territory." In addition, a valuation law was passed which was to become effective February 20, 1843. This measure, besides expanding vastly the list of chattels to be exempted from forced sale for debt, provided that real estate could not be sold on execution for debt for less than two-thirds of its value as appraised by three disinterested persons. This act was amended February 15, 1844. The amendment reiterated that "where there is personal property it shall be taken in preference to real estate." It also stipulated that where real estate was sold by court

[4] *Laws of Iowa, 1838-1839*, 59–64, 197–205.

[5] *Laws of Iowa, 1839–1843*, Chap. 83, pp. 122–3.

[6] Charles R. Tuttle and Daniel S. Durrie, *An Illustrated History of the State of Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1876), 150-51.

order for debts incurred prior to the passage of the valuation law, it was to be sold "to the highest and best bidder, for the best price" and the debtor was to be permitted to redeem such real estate "within two years from the date of said sale, by paying to the purchaser, or to the officer selling the same, or to his successor in office, the purchase money, with interest thereon, at the rate of ten per cent per annum." [7]

While these statutes demonstrated that the Iowa legislators regarded the execution of real estate for debt principally as a phase of the debtor problem, yet an awareness of the propaganda of the land reformers might, perhaps, be inferred from the land redemption provision. The land reformers often referred to the precedent of the Mosaic Law to show that the inalienability of land which they sought was not a new idea but had worked beneficially even in the ancient world. Under this Jewish law, land could not be alienated forever; and, if an Israelite debtor pledged or sold his real property to meet some financial obligation, it had to be returned to him at the time of the jubilee which came every fiftieth year.[8]

Considering the preoccupation of Iowa's General Assembly with the plight of the debtor in 1844, it is not surprising that Iowa's first constituent assembly which convened that year took up the problem of the debtor. The convention wrote into the constitution it was framing a provision declaring that no one was to be imprisoned for debt or for the non-payment of a militia fine in time of peace.[9] The convention also raised the question of incorporating homestead exemption into the fundamental law.

Iowa's 1844 constitutional convention looked upon homestead exemption fundamentally as part of the movement to alleviate the wretched condition of the debtor. Homestead exemption was urged in order to promote settlement and economic security. Nevertheless, the influence of the land reformers, who advocated homestead exemption as part of their program to

[7] *Statutes of Iowa, Revised, 1842-1843*, Chap. 63, pp. 235-6; Chap. 155, pp. 628–38; *Laws of Iowa, 1843–1846*, Chap. 20, p. 26; Chap. 23, pp. 43-4.

[8] "Leviticus," XV, 10-11, 23–8.

[9] This debtor clause in the 1844 bill of rights was copied verbatim into the bill of rights of the Iowa constitutions of 1846 and 1857. Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa* (3 vols., Iowa City, 1897–1901), 1:153, 193, 226; Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *The Constituitons of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1934), 304; *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Iowa . . . January 19, 1857 . . .*, W. Blair Lord, reporter (2 vols., Davenport, 1857), 2:1070; Poore (ed.), *Federal and State Constitutions . . .*, 1:538, 554; Thorpe (ed.), *Federal and State Constitutions . . .*, 2:1125, 1138.

amend the public land policy, was also visible even though there was no reference to the land reformers on the floor of the convention. The proposal that homestead exemption be written into the bill of rights might have been prompted by the land reform propaganda that every individual had a natural right to possess a piece of land on which to live.

On October 30, 1844, Robert Lucas proposed as an addition to the bill of rights that "Every person residing in the State [was] to have the right to hold 80 acres of land, with the improvements, or a house and lot in town, free from execution."[10] Robert Lucas, a descendant of William Penn, was the most distinguished delegate in the convention. He had served for nineteen consecutive years in one or the other branch of Ohio's legislature, and had presided over both houses. He had been chairman of the first national convention of the Democratic party in 1832; had been elected governor of Ohio twice (1832, 1836), declining a third nomination; and had been the first governor of the territory of Iowa (1838–1841).[11] Lucas pointed out that his purpose in introducing homestead exemption "was to secure to the poor man a little spot of ground where he could build him a cottage and have a home for himself and family, free from the fear of being turned out of doors. Put this provision in the Constitution, and it would add incalculably to the growth and settlement of the State."[12]

A different view, however, was held by James Grant, whose maternal ancestor, the Reverend Alexander Whitaker, had been one of the first Virginia colonists and had baptized Pocahontas.[13] Grant, whose lucrative law

[10] Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), "Fragments from *The Iowa Standard*," *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846* . . . (Iowa City, 1900), 159. No official record of the debates of Iowa's constitutional convention of 1844, aside from the bare journal, was kept.

[11] Caleb Atwater, "General Robert Lucas," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 6:125–7 (July, 1903); Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:172; Edgar Rubey Harlan, *A Narrative History of the People of Iowa* . . . (5 vols., Chicago and New York, 1931), 1:115-16, 140; John C. Parish, "Robert Lucas," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 9:487-8; John C. Parish, *Robert Lucas* (Iowa City, 1907); T. S. Parvin, "General Robert Lucas. First Governor of Iowa, 1838–1841," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 2:409–437 (July, 1896); Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, 1:73-4; Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa* (Des Moines, 1916), 9-10; Tuttle and Durrie, *Illustrated History of the State of Iowa* . . ., 674–6.

[12] Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846* . . ., 159-60.

[13] Judge James Grant left his native North Carolina when he was 21, partly be-

practice enabled him to collect the largest private law library in the West and perhaps the finest in the United States, disapproved of homestead exemption. "Instead of protecting the poor, it was directly calculated to foster a landed aristocracy. There was no estimating the amount of improvements that might be put upon 80 acres of land. . . . This tieing up a man's property from his creditors was objectionable in every point of view, and could benefit nobody, unless it was a man who wished to be dishonest."[14]

Wright Williams, a Whig and a native of New York who had been a farmer in Iowa for five years,[15] tried to remove part of Grant's objection by making a motion that the "land or lot to be exempted should not exceed in value $300." Henry Felkner, a Democrat and a native of Ohio who had been a farmer in Iowa for six years,[16] suggested striking out everything relating to a lot and land and substituting "an exemption of $100 worth of property, to be selected by the individual," regardless of whether it was real estate or chattel property.[17] This association of chattel and homestead ex-

cause of his aversion to slavery, going first to Illinois, then to Iowa, and finally to California. The versatile and energetic Grant was never seen without his stove-pipe hat. He taught school in North Carolina; served as district prosecuting attorney in Illinois and Iowa; was elected district court judge in Iowa in 1847; represented Scott County in the lower house of Iowa's legislature in 1841 and 1852, being selected as speaker of the house of representatives in the latter year; he was a member of Iowa's first two constitutional conventions; became the first president of the Chicago and Rock Island Railway in 1851; he was recognized as a classical scholar; engaged in farming in Iowa and mining in California; and returned to school at the age of 68 to study chemistry and mining at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, becoming a mining engineer. Besides this, Grant had the largest and most lucrative private law practice of any attorney in the northwest, and boasted proudly towards the close of his life that "at one time I had more cases in the United States Supreme Court than anyone else." Willis Bruce Dowd, *James Grant: A Model American* (Boston, 1909); Gue, *History of Iowa . . .*, 4:107-108; Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches . . .*, 736–40; *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men. Iowa Volume* (Chicago and New York, 1878), 38–40; Tuttle and Durrie, *Illustrated History of the State of Iowa . . .*, 670.

[14] Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846 . . .*, 160.

[15] Wright Williams became a county judge after Iowa was admitted as a state, and upon his death in 1854 his position was filled by Francis Springer who presided over Iowa's 1857 constitutional convention. "Recollections of Judge Francis Springer," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 2:582 (January, 1897).

[16] Henry Felkner was one of the first three county commissioners of Johnson County chosen when the county was organized in 1838 as part of the newly-formed territory of Iowa. He represented his county in the lower house of the fifth territorial legislature, 1842-1843, and was selected to serve on the legislative committee to

emption re-affirmed that the Iowa cornhuskers were interested in homestead exemption primarily as a debtor measure. It should also be noted that all four of the men who took part in the debate on homestead exemption had engaged in farming, and farmers constituted the debtor element of society.

But no homestead or chattel exemption provision was inserted into the 1844 constitution which was rejected by the people of Iowa. There is no evidence that the document was defeated because of the failure to incorporate a property exemption, and Iowa's constitution of 1846 and the revised 1857 instrument of government, both ratified by the populace, contained no property exemption clause.[18]

Iowa did, however, enact a homestead exemption law on January 15, 1849, rushing it through the legislature during the last four days of the session. The passage of this act furnished further proof that in Iowa homestead exemption was deemed essentially a debtor issue, though its adoption was probably aided by the national land reform movement. The effect of the land reformers' doctrines was apparent in the second section of the law which provided that the homestead exemption did not apply to any laborer's or mechanic's lien, thereby indicating that the Iowa legislators considered the relationship to homestead exemption of workingmen as a class.[19] Nonetheless, the basic motivation in the passage of this measure was the desire to ameliorate the lot of the debtor. This purpose was clearly stated by

revise the code of laws of Iowa. Clifford Powell, "History of the Codes of Iowa Law," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 9:517 (October, 1911); Jacob A. Swisher, "History of the Organization of Counties in Iowa," *ibid.*, 20:500 (October, 1922); Cyril B. Upham, "The Speaker of the House of Representatives in Iowa," *ibid.*, 17:41 (January, 1919).

[17] Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846 . . .*, 161, 406-407, 409-410. In the debates of Iowa's 1844 constituent assembly published in the contemporary newspapers there was no reference to the homestead exemption laws enacted by Texas, Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama prior to the convening of Iowa's constitutional convention.

[18] No official record was kept of the debates of the 1846 Iowa constitutional convention. The deliberations preserved in the fragmentary contemporary newspaper accounts do not reveal any discussion on the subject of property exemption. Nor do the official proceedings of Iowa's constituent assembly of 1857 disclose any mention of this topic.

[19] This law exempted from forced sale for debt either a rural homestead of 40 acres or an urban homestead of ¼ of an acre, together with the dwelling and its appurtenances thereon, provided that such homestead did not exceed $500 in value. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials . . . Regular Session of the Second General Assembly, of the State of Iowa . . . 1848*, Chap. 124, pp. 152-3.

the author of the bill, Lemuel B. Patterson, in the following letter which he wrote from his sick bed less than a month before his death.

> At that time I was a very young man, and was territorial librarian. I had become acquainted with many members of the legislature. The causes that led me to think of it and determined me to try and get proper legislation on the subject, were, that I had observed the actions and hard-heartedness of the money lenders in this community, who generally loaned their funds at 40 per cent interest. When a poor man had a piece of land which he desired to improve, they were quite eager to make him a loan, taking a mortgage on his lands, and sometimes also a chattel mortgage on his personal property. When the obligation became due, or as soon as the same reached the amount that would absorb the property, they would clean the poor fellow out of his worldly possessions, turning him out helpless, with nothing for himself and family.
>
> I saw many instances of such hardships, and I considered it a great wrong that ought to be controlled by proper legislation. Among the legislators then in session I had become very intimate with a member of the House from Lee county, the Honorable Isaac W. Griffith. He had lost his right arm in the Mexican war. I approached him first about the necessity of this legislation, and desired to know whether, if I should draft a bill on the subject, he would present it and do what he could to secure its passage. I must say that he did all in his power for the measure. I assisted him all I could with other members of both Houses, until its final passage.[20]

Thus, in Iowa, as in the other northern states of the Mississippi valley,[21] the stimulus for the homestead exemption reform was fundamentally the crusade to improve the condition of the debtor, aided by the agitation of the land reformers for changes in the public land policy, and both of these movements were abetted by the need of the west for settlers as well as by the general humanitarian and democratizing reform trend characteristic of the ante-bellum era.

[20] "Genesis of the Iowa Homestead Law," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 3:149 (July, 1897). Brief biographical sketches of Lemuel B. Patterson and Colonel Isaac Griffith, in the form of obituary notices, appear in *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 3:77-8, 80 (April, 1897).

[21] Cf. Lena London, "Homestead Exemption in the Indiana Constitution of 1851," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 44:267–80 (September, 1948); Lena London, "Homestead Exemption in the Wisconsin Constitution," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 32:176–84 (December, 1948).

DOCUMENTS

The Civil War Diary of John Mackley

Edited by Mildred Throne

On April 15, 1861, three days after the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for 75,000 troops, of which Iowa's quota was one regiment. Governor Kirkwood notified Iowans of the President's call and appointed Keokuk as the rendezvous point, the date set being May 20. Before that date, however, Lincoln had issued a second call for 82,000 more troops, of which Iowa was to furnish two regiments. More than enough men had already volunteered to fill the first regiment; the Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry, of which the author of this journal was a member, was ordered to rendezvous at Keokuk on May 25, "there to be mustered into the service of the United States."[1]

The Keokuk Guards, one of several militia companies at Keokuk, had been organized in May of 1855.[2] On April 18, 1861, they met, changed their name to "Union Guards," and offered themselves as volunteers in answer to the call for troops.[3] It is this militia company which became Company A in the Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry. On May 28 the Second Iowa was mustered into service at Keokuk; it was mustered out at Louisville, Kentucky, on July 12, 1865.[4] In those four years the regiment was in action in some of the most stirring battles of the Civil War: Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, and the siege of Atlanta are but the best-known of these engagements.

While Iowa's troops were mustering in May of 1861, events in the doubtful state of Missouri made military action there imperative. Although a slave state, Missouri, by a special convention in March, had voted not to secede. The Governor of Missouri, Claiborne F. Jackson, fa-

[1] *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908), 1:91. (Hereafter listed as *Roster Iowa Soldiers.*)

[2] Cyril B. Upham, "Historical Survey of the Militia in Iowa, 1838–1865," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 17:369 (July, 1919).

[3] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, April 22, 1861.

[4] *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:98.

vored the Confederacy, however, and when Lincoln called on the state for four regiments, he refused to comply with the order. Brigadier-General Nathaniel Lyon, placed in command of the Department of the West, at once set about securing the state for the Union. Governor Jackson had called up the state militia, ostensibly for five or six days training at Camp Jackson in St. Louis. Lyon at once moved against the Camp and obtained its surrender early in May, 1861. This action forced many Missourians, until then loyal to the Union, into the Southern cause. The Governor retreated southwestward, with General Lyon in pursuit. Lyon occupied the capital, Jefferson City, and defeated the rebelling Missourians at Boonville on June 17, temporarily halting the swing to the Southern side. Needing aid to hold northern Missouri, on June 13 Lyon called for reinforcements, requesting Colonel Samuel R. Curtis of the Second Iowa to move the troops under his command into Missouri to protect the line of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. This order brought the regiment into action for the first time.[5]

Little is known about the author of this journal, John Mackley of Company A, Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry. His record in the *Roster of Iowa Soldiers* is as follows:

> Mackley, John. (Veteran). Age 30. Residence Keokuk, nativity Ohio. Enlisted May 4, 1861, as Fourth Sergeant. Mustered May 27, 1861. Promoted Third Sergeant Oct. 8, 1861; Second Sergeant Nov. 1, 1861. Wounded April 6, 1862, Shiloh, Tenn. Promoted First Sergeant Sept. 4, 1862. Re-enlisted and re-mustered Dec. 24, 1863. No further record.[6]

His first listing in the *Keokuk Directory* appears in the volume for 1859-1860; his last, in the volume for 1877-1878. He kept a record of his war experiences in a small brown leather book, beginning on April 18, 1861, and ending on March 28, 1862. The book was given to Mrs. W. P. Sutton of Keokuk by a daughter of William Holt, one of the members of Company A.[7] Mrs. Sutton presented the diary to the State Historical Society of

[5] Eugene M. Violette, *A History of Missouri* (Boston, 1918), 322–57 *passim*; *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:91-2; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies . . .* (Washington, 1880–1900), Series I, Vol. III, 4–9, 11–14. (Hereafter listed as *Official Records.*)

[6] *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:171.

[7] For Holt, see *ibid.*, 1:145.

Iowa, and it is here reproduced in full with the exception of some entries dealing only with the weather or with letters received or written.

Keokuk

Apr 18 1861 List of the Names of volunteers Under the Proclimation of the President of the United States Calling for 75,000 volunteers to the Keokuk Guards

We the Undersigne[d] Citizens of the State of Iowa Hereby enroll our names as members of the Iowa State Malitia to serve in the present Contest with the so called Southeren Confederate States we further agree to Hold ourselves in Readyness to march at any time and to any point that our Country may demand & Require our Service[8]

Names	Names
Thomas J. McKenny	W. Hamilton Nation
Richard H. Huston	John Finerty
John Stannus	John C. Ryan
James M. Reid	John W. Long
Daniel Tisdale	A. Martin
Sampson M. Archer	Jesse C. Wickersham
Henry Straus	Wm. Koates
John Mackley	John Leighton
Lewis P. Sicer	George Thompson
John R. Diamond	J. Rodgers
James F. Nash	Granville C. Phillips
William A. Neel	James M. Patten
Joseph L. Davis	William H. Wilson
P. Harris	Jas. Cox
Wm. Holt	James W. Quicksell
Samuel Prentis Curtis	John C. Allendorph
Webster Ballinger	Joseph W. Vance
H. D. Wilson	Charles C. Derr
John Clough	Samuel Gillaspe
William H. Nation	George D. Sayler
James Kerr	

Apr. 18 Keokuk Lee County Iowa At a meeting called pursuant to a notice in the Daily Gate City of the Old Keokuk Guards & Held in Stannus Hall the following procedings were Had

[8] The names in the list are written in full with spellings as found in *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:98–226 *passim*. Mackley gave only initials and misspelled many of the names.

John Stannus[9] called the meeting to Ordor and upon His motion Capt R H Huston of the Old Keokuk Guards was chosen President of the meeting upon motion of J M Reid S P Curtis was elected Secretary of the meeting and upon motion John Stannus & J M Reid were elected Vice Presidents the Chairman stated the Object of the meeting to be the Reorganization of the Old Keokuk Guards and the enrolling of volunteers with a view to placing the Company in a condition to respond immidiatly to the call of the President of the United States and be Mustered into active Service in the shortest practable time

John W. Rankin[10] was called out and made a very appropriate Speech J M Reid read a letter from Jas C Patterson who enclosed a Check for ten ($10) d[o]llars payable to the ordor of His Country for the purpose of repelling the insults offered to the Stars & Stripes[11]

While the Roll was being passed around to procure signers Charles E Moss, Esq Made an Eloquant appeal for Volunteers

The Chairman stated that a Recruiting Office would be opened Tomorrow Morning at 10 Oclock A.M. in Belknapps building on 4th street Between Main & Blondeau

T. J. McKenney offered the following Resolutions to the Members of the Compy which upon motion were Unanimously adopted

Resolved That our Country requires our services & without any Distinction of party we Hereby with our own free will & consent Cheerefully tender our Services to our Country

Resolved in this contest we Know but two parties Patriots & Traitors the formor for the Union the Constitution and the Star Spangle[d] Banner the latter our foes and our Enemies

Resolved That we Hold intestine Traitors in abhorance and would

[9] John Stannus, a native of West Virginia, came to Keokuk in 1843. He was carpenter, contractor, wholesale grocer, and pork packer at various times. In 1876 he migrated to the Black Hills, where he died in 1895. During the Civil War he was placed in charge of all ammunition which passed through Keokuk. *Biographical Review of Lee County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1905), 499-500.

[10] Judge John Walker Rankin, a native of Pennsylvania, came to Keokuk in 1848, after studying law and being admitted to the bar in Wooster, Ohio. He was a partner of Maj.-Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, and served in the Iowa State Senate and was Colonel of the 17th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, from April to September, 1862. *History of Lee County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1879), 710; *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 3:14.

[11] See Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, April 22, 1861, for mention of this incident.

point the Bayonet and Discharge the Musket at them with as much willingness as would a foreign Enemy

Resolved That while we deplore the Necessity which draws us to this last Resort that we will at all times and at all Hazards Stand by our Country and our Countrey's Flag Right or Wrong

Resolved That the Name of this command shall be Known as the Union Guards and that we Report ourselves immediately to the Govenor of our state as Ready for Duty[12]

on motion the meeting adjourned to meet Tomorrow at Rices Hall at 2 Oclock P.M. and likewise at 7 Oclock PM Thirty Volunteers enrolled there Names this Even. Capt R H Huston Chairman S P Curtis Secretary

Apr 19 Keokuk Iowa Rices Hall 2 Oclock P.M. Union Guards met persuant to adjournment and the Chairman Called the Company to Ordor on Motion John Leddon [Leighton] J M Reid & J L Davis were appointed Committe on Music J L Davis made an appeal for More Volunteers on Motion Company adjourned to meet at this place at 7 P.M Several More Volunteers were Enrolled R H Huston Chairman S P Curtis Secretary

Rices Hall Keokuk 7 Oclock P. M. Union Guards Met persuant to adjournment J M Reid called the meeting to ordor & Capt Huston shortly made His appearance and took the Chair a Committee was appointe[d] to Keep out small Boys

J L Davis & C. E. Moss made patriotic calls for more Volunteers the Roll was passed around and several more signed. Three Cheers were given for Jas Cox a prominent Merchant of this City and a grey Headed Vetran who Came forward and Signed the Roll

Moved Secconeded & Carried that we go into the Election of Officers

Moved Secconeded & Carried that three Citizens be appointed tellers of the Election Chairman appointed C W Lowry, Capt Hagny & D A Thrall tellers

Moved Secconeded & Carried that the room be Cleared of outsiders on accounte of Noise The Company then Marched out and made there first appearance on Perade on the streets for the purpose of geting the Room cleared after Making a short perade on Main Street they Returned to the Hall

[12] These resolves, in practically the same wording, appeared in the April 22, 1861, issue of the Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig.*

On His own Motion Webster Ballinger was permitted to Cast five votes in the election one for Himself and four as Proxy for the Absent Members from Sanduskey[13]

On Motion Doctor Bond took the Chair during the Election of Captain the Company then proceded to elect Officers

R. H. Huston & T. J. McKenney were nominated for Captain R. H. Huston received twenty four votes & T. J. McKenney Recived Nineteen votes Chair declared Huston Elected and on Motion the Election was declared Unanimous Capt Huston Tendered the Company His thanks

On Motion T J McKenney was Elected first Lieutenant by Acclimation

S. M. Archer John Stannus and J M Reid were nominated for Seccond Lieutenant The Captain declared the first Ballot illegal as there were too many Ballots Cast John Stannus Withdrew S M Archer Received twenty two votes & J M Reid Recived Twenty One votes Captain Huston declared S. M. Archer Elected Seccond Lieutenant

J M Reid was Elected third Lieutenant by Acclimation

J L Davis was Elected first Seargent by acclimation

Daniel Tisdale was Elected Seccond Seargeant by acclimation Webster Ballinger & John Mackley were Nominated for third Seargeants Ballinger Recived Thirty votes & Mackley Recived thirteen Votes Capt declared Ballinger to be duely Elected Third Sergt. Mackley was Elected fourth Seargeant by acclimation J C Wickersham was Elected fifth Seargeant by acclimation Thos Flood was Elected Ensign by Acclimation

S P Curtis was Elected first Corporal by Acclimation John Finnerty Henry Straus & R R Teller were Nominated for Seccond Corporal Straus withdrew Finnerty Received (18) Eighteen votes Teller Recd Thirteen Votes Capt declared John Finnerty Elected Seccond Corporal R R Teller was Elected Third Corporal by acclimation John Taugher was Elected fourth Corporal by acclimation

Moved Secconeded and Carried that a Committee of two be appointed to make provisions for those who Come Here to join us.

James Rodgers invited the Company to attend a concert to be given on Next Thursday Evening at the Atheneaum for the Bennefitt of the Keokuk Volunteers invitation accepted

[13] Sandusky is five miles north of Keokuk on the site of a trading post established by the Frenchman, Lemoliese, in 1820. Nelson C. Roberts and Dr. S. W. Moorhead (eds.), *History of Lee County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914), 1:165.

Company adjourned to meet at this place Tomorrow April the 20th 1861 at 2 Oclock P.M.

The Roll of Volunteers was swelled to forty Seven Members . . .

Apr 20 Union Guards met persuant to adjournment. Company increased in numbers from Day to Day Until the fouth of May Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-One when we were mustered into the Service of the State of Iowa when we come to be sworn in some of our Members Backed out[14]

May 4th State of Iowa Lee County May the 4th A D 1861 The following is the Oath adminestered to the Company By Oth Lyman Justice of the Peace

I do Solemnly Swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and that I will Serve them Honestly & Faithfully against Enemies or opposers, Whomesoever and that I will Observe and Obey the Ordores of the President of the United States and the Officers over Me according to the Rules and articles of War Further that I will Support the Constitution of the United States and faithfully demean Myself as a Volunteer and this Oath I take without Qualification or Mental reservation as witness my Hand

the Members Signed there Names to the above Oath which was in writing then Held up there Right Hand while the Oath was adminestered the Company met and Drilled from Day to Day Our Company Could not get into the Three Month Call[15] so we were mustered in for the Term of Three years on the 27th Day of May 1861 as Company A (2d) Seccond Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry

About this time we got a Blue Uniform from Vogal[16] which cost thirteen Dollors Each .

Aboutt this time we also Elected four more Corporals as follows Eli Ramsey in place of Finnerty Resigned came in as fourth Corporal T A Stevenson as fifth Corporal G C Phillips as Sixth Corporal Wm Musser

[14] "Capt. Huston's company had, on Saturday last, the oath of allegiance administered to them by 'Squire' Lyman. Out of 128 men only 78 were sworn in, this number constituting a full company." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, May 6, 1861.

[15] The first call for troops specified an enlistment of three months. This call was filled by the First Iowa.

[16] Probably "M. Vogel, Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Ready-Made Clothing, and Gents' Furnishing Goods. . . ." *Keokuk Directory for 1857*, 92.

as Seventh Corporal Jos A Collins as Eighth Corporal about this time the Company Recd there Muskets & Blankets[17]

June 1 to 13 Company Drill forenoon of Each Day & Battallion Drill & Dress Perad afternoons[18]

June 13 11 Oclock P.M. I was awakened from My Slumbers and was informed that the Seccond Iowa Regt. was Ordored away word was sent through out City to the members of the Company to be ready to leave by 2 Oclock A. M. I got up out of Bead and Hastily left my folks for the Drill Room a Steam Boat was in waiting down at the Levee to take our Regiment on Board[19]

June 14 At 4 Oclock A M the Regiment moved down to the Boat & about five Oclock all on Board Quite a Croud gathered on the Levee to see us off My Friend Mr & Mrs Howard & Family & My Sister were among the number. it was all I could do to Keep the tears back as My

[17] "The Second Regiment will be assembled here and mustered in this week, and the 3d Regiment will be here and mustered in next week. Tents have been sent for and are expected by the time the Regiments are respectively mustered. Clothing has not yet been fully provided for, and it is feared that both the 2d and 3d Regiments will be scarce of blankets, as there are none on sale in this town. The citizens will probably be called on to contribute blankets for the time being, otherwise, the 2d Regiment will have a hard time of it. . . ." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, May 27, 1861. For the haphazard methods of clothing and equipping the army in 1861, see Fred Albert Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861–1865* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1928), 1:53–148.

[18] "Company A, 2d Regiment, (Capt. Huston), would have appeared in their new uniform to-day, — which are now all here and ready for distribution, — but the caps have not yet arrived. As soon as they do, we may look for a grand sight. The men who had a look at the uniform[s] are perfectly delighted with them. This company is now undergoing daily drill and the indefatigable Captain is using every exertion to make his command the pride of Keokuk. The men are already very proficient in the use of their arms, and, when in their new uniforms, will excite general admiration." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, June 10, 1861.

[19] The occasion for this sudden call was a request from Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel Lyon in Missouri to Col. Samuel R. Curtis of the 2nd Iowa for troops to be sent to Hannibal, where it was feared that the Southern sympathizers would overpower Union men and attempt to cut the Hannibal & St. Joseph R. R. The steamboat *Jennie Deans* was sent to Keokuk for troops. "Col. Curtis having received the dispatches, all the companies of his Regiment were hurriedly roused from their quarters. Men were seen and heard running to and fro all over the city, and all the boys were wild with excitement. By 4 o'clock they began to march down to the Levee, and by 5 o'clock the whole Regiment was on board, including Col. Curtis and his staff. A vast crowd of excited people was gathered on the Levee, and as the noble steamer moved off the welkin rang with cheers from the people and the gallant volunteers." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, June 17, 1861.

Sister and Friends Bid me good Bye the Boat Shoved from Shore and we were soon Gliding down the Old Mississippi River we got for Breakfast one loaf of Bakers Bread for 4 Men we also got our Cartrage Boxes distribueted out to the Company

Arived at Hannibal about noon about 2 Oclock P M after filling our Haversacks with Hard Bread we took the Cars for St Joseph[20] Stoped at every town on the Road Cut down Flag Poles & Took Men as Prisoners who were not Loyal to the United States

Hannibal & St Joseph Rail Road

Arived at Hudson & Macon City about sun Down arived at Brookfield about 9 Oclock P.M. when we arrived at Brookfield they Had Tellegraphed to us there that the Sec[e]sh were a raising thunder Back at Hudson on account of a Printer Reble we Had Taken Company A. were ordered Back and proceded Back forthwith by cars

June 15 it was about 2 Oclock A.M. when we arived there (20) of Company (B) & Lieutenant were along all under command of Lieutenant McKenney We took posession and Quartered in Depot one Man Had been well nigh Killed on account of His Union Principles the Union Citizens of the place furnished us a good Breakfast we took Several prisoners during the Day also Guns Powder Lead &c

June 16 to 20 About this time the Iowa first Regiment Commanded By Colonel Bates[21] Came along & Camped at Hudson We Co. A then moved on to St Joseph Joined the Regiment Under Command of Colonel S R Curtis[22] who was Elected Our Colonel before leaving Keokuk when the Regiment was Organized [James M.] Tuttle was Elected Lieutenant Col-

[20] The Hannibal & St. Joseph R. R. crossed the northern part of Missouri, from Hannibal on the Mississippi to St. Joseph on the Missouri. Brig.-Gen. S. A. Hurlbut reported on July 27, 1861, to Maj.-Gen. John C. Fremont: "I desire to state expressly and officially that the feeling along the line is hostile to this road. It is owned in Boston by wealthy men and the people believe it will be repaired if injured. They call it an abolition road. There is no such feeling as to the North Missouri; that is called a State road." *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. I, 194.

[21] For Colonel John Francis Bates, see *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:10.

[22] Samuel R. Curtis, native of Ohio, had been educated at West Point and had served as a Colonel of an Ohio Regiment during the Mexican War. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Curtis, who had resigned from the army, was living at Keokuk, and had been elected a Representative to Congress. *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:97 note. For his military career, see A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments . . .* (Des Moines, 1865), 35–50.

onel [Marcellus M.] Crocker Major & [Norton P.] Chipman Adjutant.[23] the Regt Camped about three fourths of a Mile on the River Below the City

Here our Company Recd pay while in the Service of State My wages amounted to ($9 90/100) Nine Dollars & Ninety Cents[24]

July 4 Our Regt Recd there State Uniform to day[25] Sent Deborah Ten Dollars

July 10 Co. A with 3 others left St Joseph for Monroe City as it was Expected the Rebles would attack that place under Command of Capt Huston

July 11 We joined the 3d Iowa Regt. under Command of Colonel Williams[26] at Hudson and proceded on to Monroe our progress was impeaded by the Rails being towrn up & Salt River Bridge being Burnt Down we arived at Salt River Bridge about sundown and Had to March the Ballance of the way Distance 10 Mile we Numbered about Thirteen Hundred

July 12 2 Oclock A.M. arived at Monroe City too late for the fight as it took place on the 11th [the] Day Before our arival 2 Cannon Ball [were] put in to the Brick accadamy by the Reble 13 Shot in all fired by them None Hurt[27]

[23] For Tuttle, see Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . ., 51–8. For Crocker and Chipman, see *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:98.

[24] The Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig* reported on June 24, 1861: "Messrs. E. Clark and Hiram Price left yesterday on the Packet for Hannibal with funds to pay the 1st and 2d Regiments for their State services. . . . All the officers and men of the 2d Regiment were paid off at St. Joe. by the agents of Iowa in full of amount due them from the State. Total amount about $10,000."

[25] Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, July 15, 1861.

[26] Nelson G. Williams. See *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:294; Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . ., 83–96 (erroneously listed as "Wilson G. Williams").

[27] From report of Col. Robert F. Smith (16th Ill. Infantry) to Brig.-Gen. Lyon, dated July 14, 1861, Monroe Station, Mo.: "After coming into Monroe, I took possession of a brick building known as 'The Seminary,' and inclosed grounds adjoining, its position answering my purpose for defense, if necessary, and the apartments good quarters for the men, who were without tents. . . . On the morning of the 11th the enemy began to collect from all quarters, and by noon we were surrounded by from 1,500 to 2,000 men. At 1 o'clock p. m. they opened fire on us from one 9 and one 6 pounder, at a distance of about a mile. Their firing was very inaccurate, only three shots out of the first twenty-seven striking the building, and they did very little damage, my men being well covered by a breastwork they had thrown up.

Col. Smith in Command of the place reinforced by Col Woods from Illinois so Our Command left for St Joseph we arived at Hudson on our way Back about 9 Oclock P M Here it was reported that the Bridges on ahead were Burned Down the Col. Sent Lieutenant McKenney with 33 men on ahead left 10 men at first Bridge and 8 men at Seccond Proceded on to third Bridge I & Gilchrist were Sent on as advance guard arived at Charriton Bridge about Daylight

July 13 Found it Guarded by Home guards which left immidiatly on our arival we Ordored Breakfast on our arival About 6 Oclock Am while in at Breakfast which Consisted of Corn Bread & Coffee the Bridge was Discovered to be on fire and Covered with armed Men the alarm was given our little force Consisting of Fifteen in all Ran out with Musket in Hand Commenced firing on the Bridge Burners the fire was Returned we Drove them from the Bridge put out the fire followed them up firing at them we took 5 Horses One wagon One set Harness 1 Shall [shell?] Powder Lead &c The Number of the Rebles were about 80 to 100 18 of the Traitors reported Killed we Had our Wounded Below is a list of our Men[28]

1st Lieut. T. J. McKenny
4 Sergt John Mackley
3 Corp John Taugher
John J. Gilcrist
Samuel W. Grover
William H. Robinson
W. H. Nation
John W. Bird
George W. Friend
John Keppel
Nicholas McKenzie
Henry A. Seirbelich
David H. Underhill
James L. Wilson
John W. Renz

About 8 Oclock A.M the Train Came along under Command of Col. Williams after Buerying one of the Rebles that was Killed on the Spot we Moved off for St Joseph

However during the Night the Rebles Burned Brush creek Bridge this is 7 mile from the Charriton towards St Joseph

After throwing the first six shots, they moved their cannon some 400 yards nearer and opened fire. I immediately answered with the 6-pounder, dismounting their smaller gun, which made a general scattering, and caused them to carry their 9-pounder to a safer distance. Their firing from this line had little or no effect." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, 40-41. See also Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, July 15, 22, 1861.

[28] Spelling of names checked in *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:98–279 *passim*. Story of this skirmish in Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, July 22, 1861.

Here we changed Carrs Moved on again About Sundown we came to a Bridge Unguarded over Locust Creek Here Col. Williams left Company A. 2d Iowa Regt the Company Remaned at this place two weeks Sleeping on ground & in Open Air Exposed to all sorts of weather at the Expiration of two weeks Col Williams Relieved Us About this time our Regt was ordored and left St Joseph Arived at Hannibal took the Steamer D A January and Arived at St Louis Arsenal

St Louis

Aug 1 About this time a Fleet of Steamboats Under Command of General John C. Fremont[29] left St Louis for Birds Point 7 in number as follows[30]

Flag Boat City of Alton	Emperess
D. A. January	Jennie Deans
G. W. Graham	Warsaw

Aug 2 arived at Birds Point[31] on Friday 5 Oclock P.M. amid Concid-erable Rejoycing by the Soldiers from Boath Shores the Cannon Spoke fourth our Welcom in Loud Tones

Birds Point

Aug 3 Saturday went a shore and put up our tents . . .

Aug 6 Tuesday wrote letter to Sister Deborah Reported attack of Cape Girirardeau by Rebles which proved false about Six Hundred Troops sent up from Cairio

[29] Maj.-Gen. John C. Fremont, Republican candidate for President in the 1856 campaign, was given command of the Western Department, with headquarters at St. Louis, on July 3, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, 390. He was received "with exultation," but his ostentation, vainglorious actions, the luxury of his headquarters, and his personal bodyguard of 300 men, who "in full uniform, on horseback, often went thundering along our streets, kicking up a cloud of dust, or else making the mud fly," soon led to his removal. Galusha Anderson, *The Story of a Border City During the Civil War* (Boston, 1908), 206-207; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, 541, 553, 559. See also *Dictionary of American Biography*, 7:19–23; Allan Nevins, *Fremont, the West's Greatest Adventurer* (2 vols., New York, 1928).

[30] Although Mackley states that there were 7 boats in the fleet, he lists only 6. Actually, there were 8: *City of Alton, Louisiana, D. A. January, G. W. Graham, Empress, War Eagle, Jennie Deans,* and *Warsaw.* See *Rebellion Record*, 2:467-8 (1861). This abortive feint at New Madrid (below Bird's Point on the Mississippi) was supposed to draw off the Confederates menacing General Lyon at Springfield in the southwestern part of Missouri, but there were few Confederate troops at New Madrid, and Fremont later ordered the troops back to St. Louis. See Anderson, *The Story of a Border City During the Civil War*, 208-209.

[31] Bird's Point is on the Mississippi, across from Cairo, Ill. See *Official Records, Atlas*, Vol. II, Plate 153.

Aug 7 Wednesday worked on Entrenchments about One Oclock in Night four Shots were fired from Fort Prentess which Occasioned our whole force on Birds Point to turn out in Battle array after awaiting awhile for the Enemy we were Ordored back to Quarters the firing was Ocasioned by two Flat Boats Runing the Blockade they were overtaken By the W. H. B. and brot Back they were loaded with Lime & Hooppoles[32] . . .

On the River

Aug 14 Wednesday Moved our Tents inside of the Entrenchments we Had scarce got our Tents up again when we got Ordors to Move up the River One Boat left During the Night loaded with Troops

Aug 15 Thursday Morning three More Boats left for up the River loaded with Troops the 2d Iowa was among the Numbur[33]

Aug 16 Friday 7 Oclock A. M. passed by Cape Girirdeau passed Liberty about 2 Oclock P.M. 100 mile from St Louis passed Chester about 4 Oclock P.M. about 80 Mile Below St Louis arived at Sulpher [*sic*] Springs about 11 Oclock P.M.

Sulphur Springs

Aug 17 Saturday Morning got off the Boats & took the Cars of the

[32] "The two barges that were overhauled a few nights since at the Point have made their last 'run.' One containing lime caught fire, which extended to the other containing hoop poles, and both were destroyed. Considerable money had been advanced on them in Columbus, Ky." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Aug. 19, 1861.

[33] "D" of the 2nd Iowa wrote to the Keokuk paper on August 15: "On Monday morning our scouts returned to camp at Bird's Point, informing us of the occupation of Charleston, — a town some fifteen miles distant, — by the rebels, and with a portion of whom they had a skirmish, losing two men, and two others missing — killing and wounding four or five of theirs. Anticipating a speedy attack, (which however proved to be a false alarm,) our regiment, which hitherto had been encamped outside, was immediately ordered inside of the entrenchments. We had our camp arranged but an hour when the orders came to 'pull up stakes and be ready to march immediately.' Our boys by this time began to think we were quite a 'movable institution,' but after a hasty supper, and without grumbling, down came the most of our tents, and we slept that night in the open air, awaiting orders to embark. No boat appeared to take us until the next day noon, but others were continually arriving and departing through the night and morning, taking on troops for some up-river destination. We got under way at about 4 p. m. of Thursday, and with high glee started for up the river, supposing our destination to be somewhere in the interior of Missouri, where there was a chance for '*fun*.' We were not sorry to leave Bird's Point, inasmuch as there was no prospect of a fight in that neighborhood, and especially as there was nothing inviting about its locality, having had upwards of forty men on our company's sick list at once. . . ." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Aug. 26, 1861.

Iron mountain Rail Road[34] at 9 Oclock for Pilot Knob passed by Desoto at Half past 9 Oclock passed Mineral Point 61 Mile from St Louis at Half past Ten Oclock arived at Pilot Knob at 1 Oclock P.M. at 4 P.M. the Regiment formed and marched South of Irongton [Ironton] and into Camp . . .

Irongton

Aug 19 Monday Company A went out on the Fredricktown Road abut 8 Mile as Picket Guard

Aug 20 Tuesday 7th Regt Ills Vol passed for Fredricktown . . .

Aug 26 Monday 8 Oclock AM got Marching Ordorrs Received letters from Deborah Mrs Howard & Elisabeth answered the same

Aug 27 Tuesday One Oclock P.M. left Irington marched 13 mile Camped for Night

Fredricktown

Aug 28 Wednesday 7 Oclock A.M. resumed our March arived at Fredricktown[35] at 11 Oclock Am distance from Irington 20 Mile went into Camp I went on Duty

Aug 29 Thursday 3 Oclock P.M. got Marching Ordors Marched 8 Mile and Camped for Night

Aug 30 Friday March 13 Mile Camped for the Night Here it was reported that Dallas 5 Mile ahead was Strongley fortified by the Rebles

Dallas

Aug 31 Saturday Morning Moved off again our whole force consisted of 2d Iowa Regt 7th Iowa Regt 7th 17th 19th Ills Regt Buells Battery of 6 Pieces of Cannon Adams County Ills Dragoons two or three Companeys of Cavalry Under Command of General B. M. Printess[36] we However

[34] The St. Louis & Iron Mountain R. R. ran south from St. Louis along the Mississippi to Sulphur Springs Landing, then turned southwest to Pilot Knob and Ironton. See *Official Records, Atlas,* Vol. II, Plate 152.

[35] Fredericktown and Dallas are south of Ironton, Dallas being about 10 miles directly west of Cape Girardeau. See *Official Records, Atlas,* Vol. II, Plate 153.

[36] Letter from "D" written from Camp Fremont, Ironton, August 18, 1861: "There are from 7,000 to 9,000 men here, encamped around these peaks, — among which are the Illinois 7th, 17th, 19th, Missouri 6th, Iowa 2d and 7th, Nebraska 1st, and Buell's artillery." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig,* Aug. 26, 1861. Benjamin M. Prentiss of Illinois was Brig.-Gen. in command of north and central Missouri. See *Dictionary of American Biography,* 15:188.

did not meet with any Rebles at Dallas but to the Contrary the Town was Deserted

Jackson

Aug 31 Saturday passed Dallas 8 Mile and Camped for the Night

Sept 1 Sunday 2 Oclock P.m arived at Jackson[37] and Camped . . .

Sept 4 Wednesday Dora Bell Drumed out of Regt for Horse Steeling I Had the Unpleasant part to play of Sergt of the Guard He was Tried & f[o]und Guilty by Ordor of Lieut. Colonel M. M. Crocker Commanding 2d Iowa Regt[38] Colonel Tuttle Returned He Had been Home on Furlough got letters from Deborah & Mother . . .

Sept 8 Sunday left Jackson ariving at Cape Girirdeau at 12 Oclock M at 9 P.M. Our Regt Marched on Board of the Steamer Wisconsin No 2 and pushed Down the River

Birds Point

Sept 9 Monday Arived at Birds Point and went into Camp Nothing More occurred until

Sept 15 Sunday Our Regt was Ordored over into Kentucky So we Moved on Board of the Alex Scott and at 11 Oclock in the Night we landed at Fort Holt Here our Brass Band found us.[39]

Camp Crittenden

Sept 16 Monday Marched down to Camp Crittenden 8 Mile Below Fort Holt Here the 17th Ills Regt and the 7th Iowa Regt. were camped the 19th Ills Regt & Buells Battery about this time left for Washington

Sept 17 Tuesday Moved 3 mile up the River to Fort Jefferson[40] & Camped . . .

Fort Jefferson

[37] On the line of the Cape Girardeau, Columbus R. R., a few miles above Cape Girardeau. *Official Records, Atlas,* Vol. II, Plate 153.

[38] Dora Bell, age 35, of Eddyville, Company K, Second Infantry. *Roster Iowa Soldiers,* 1:113; Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig,* Sept. 16, 1861.

[39] From letter from "D" of Sept. 18, 1861: "In my haste to close my last letter I forgot to mention the arrival of our brass band of some sixteen performers, which seems to diffuse new life throughout the regiment." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig,* Sept. 30, 1861. For members of band, see *Roster Iowa Soldiers,* 1:99-100.

[40] Forts Holt and Jefferson were in Kentucky, directly across the Mississippi from Bird's Point, and a few miles below Cairo. See *Official Records, Atlas,* Vol. II, Plate 153.

Sept 19 Thursday Our Pickets Came in Reported the Enemy advancing on us we were all Drawen up in Battle Array but as the Rebles did not come we Were Ordored Back to Quarters

Sept 20 Friday Pretty Sick . . .

Sept 22-23 Sunday Monday Sick Night Crossed over the Mississippi River to Norfolk Here we camped all Night

Sept 24 Tuesday Returned back to Birds Point . . .

Birds Point & Charlestown

Oct 1st Tuesday The 2d Iowa 20th 22d & 11th Ills Regiments One Co of Cavalry & 2 pieces Chicago Artillery went out to Charlestown Distance from Birds Point 12 Mile We went out on the Cars [of] the Cairio & Fulton Rail Road Cha[r]lestown is a Handsome place we found no Secesh out there Returned the Same Day[41] I was not very well at this time still I went with the Regt From first of Oct Nothing Exciting Happened until the

Oct 14 Monday 25 of our Cavalry fell in with about 100 of the Enemy 4 Mile below Norfolk Several Killed on Each side Flag of Truce Came up From Columbus About this time Mrs Wittenmyer Came down from Keokuk[42]

[41] Report of Col. R. J. Oglesby (Oct. 2, 1861), Commanding Bird's Point, to Brig.-Gen. U. S. Grant, Cairo, Ill.: "In obedience to your order last night to move with a force upon Charleston to intercept the rebel forces under Jeff. Thompson, I sent Eleventh Illinois Volunteers, 450, Twentieth Illinois, 350, and the Second Iowa Volunteers, 350; total infantry, 1,150; one division of Captain Taylor's artillery and 100 cavalry, under Captain Stewart; the whole force under command of Colonel Tuttle, of the Second Iowa Regiment. The force left here at 3:30 o'clock this morning; arrived at Charleston at 8 o'clock. Colonel Tuttle reports that no enemy has been near Charleston in force. He immediately sent out detachments in every direction to reconnoiter. Learning that about 500 of the enemy's cavalry would be at Charleston at noon to-day or during the day, he sent forward on the Belmont road a company of cavalry 5 miles to report their approach. The enemy did not reveal itself. At 5 o'clock p. m. the forces were put in motion, and have returned to this camp to-night. From all the information learned through Colonel Tuttle I am satisfied the enemy have not been at Charleston, and will not move by there. . . ." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, 198-9.

[42] Annie Turner Wittenmyer, of Keokuk, Iowa's famous Civil War nurse. See Ruth A. Gallaher, "Annie Turner Wittenmyer," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, 29:518–69 (October, 1931). By this time there was a great deal of sickness among the troops in Missouri. "The regiment [Second Iowa] is now at Bird's Point. About 700 of them are sick. Company A, the Keokuk company, seems to fare about as well as the rest, and Capt. Huston looks well as ever. Out of the seven regiments

Oct 16 Wednesday General Review at this place by Colonel Wallace[43] 20th Illinois Regt left for up the River

From 17th to 21st nothing of interest Occurred during this time Recd Several letters from my Sister answered the same from 21st to 25 all Quiet at Camp

Oct 26 Saturday Our Regiment got paid Off I got forty four Dollars and Thirty Cents

On the River

Oct 27 Sunday 2d Iowa Regt got Marching Ordors we moved on Board of the Steamboat Memphis and at 4 Oclock P.M we pushed off from Birds Point Ran over to Cairio got our Sick on Board and Shoved off from that Point at 6 Oclock P.M Rounded too and put up the Mississippi River[44]

Oct 28 Monday Morning passed Cape Giriardeau Iowa 10th Regiment Quartered there 2 Oclock P M passed Libirty 4 Oclock P.M passed Chester

Benton Barracks

Oct 29 Tuesday One Oclock A m arived at St Louis about 9 Oclock am

there, on the average, three deaths occur daily. The fatality, as we understand, is ascribed solely to the location." Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Oct. 28, 1861.

[43] Colonel W. H. L. Wallace, in command at Bird's Point. Of this review, Col. Wallace wrote to his wife: "October 16th. We had a grand review to-day. General Grant was to have reviewed us and I had the whole force in line at 10:30 o'clock, and waited an hour for the General. He then sent word that his services would be postponed till further orders. But I determined that the review should go on and I reviewed them myself. It was a fine sight. Six companies of infantry, five companies of cavalry, and a light battery of six guns. It was as fine a column as I ever saw. The line was a mile long. All were highly pleased with the display." Isabel Wallace, *Life & Letters of General W. H. L. Wallace* (Chicago, 1909), 139.

[44] Letter from U. S. Grant (Oct. 27, 1861), at Cairo, to Capt. Chauncey McKeever, St. Louis: "The health of the Second Iowa Regiment is such that I have thought it both prudent and humane to send them to Saint Louis to recruit their health. Colonel Tuttle, the commander, is desirous of returning to this place as soon as it will be prudent to do so, and I have directed him to report to department headquarters when he thinks the health of his regiment sufficiently recovered. . . ." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, 556. See also Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Nov. 4, 1861. Mrs. Wittenmyer reported to the Keokuk Aid Society: "The second, which has suffered more severely on account of sickness than any other, has been brought up from Bird's Point to St. Louis to recruit, and the health of the regiment is improving slowly. There are at this time about 200 out on furlough, 300 to be prescribed for daily, in camp, and 80 in the General Hospital. Some of the sickest of the men were left behind, in Cairo. . . ." Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, Nov. 25, 1861.

Regt formed on Levee, Marched up in Town Met by Gen Curtis & Staff and Escorted up to Benton Barracks and went into Quarters

Oct 30 Wednesday I will Here Remark that a great many of our Regt were Sick and got Furloughs Home for 20 & 30 Days T. J. McKenney got Appointed A.A.G. & Post A D C S M Archer resigned J L Davis Came in as first Lieutenant & Daniel Tisdale as 2d Lieut Ballenger as Ordorly and John Mackley as 2d Sergt Wickersham as 3d Sergt Teller as 4th Sergt . . .

Nov 9 about this time Company A & H were Ordored to Springfield[45] went Down took the Pacceffic Rail Road we were Guarding a Safe of Mony through Passed through Several pretty Towns and over the Gasconade & Osage Rivers they are pretty Streams arived at Sedalia the End of the Road about 9 Ocl P.M Slept in Carrs all Night

Nov [?] Sunday Returned Back to Benton Barracks found My Sister Deborah & George Howard Down from Keokuk they Remained with Me until the latter part of the Month when it began to get Cold I sent them Back to Keokuk . . .

Dec 3 Tuesday Recd Box of Provision and 35# Butter from Mrs Howard & Sister Deborah

Dec 4 Wednesday Sold the Butter for Nine Dollars. turned Warm

Dec 5 Thursday Pleasant About 9 Oclock P.M. I was taken with Spassom was very Sick During the Night did not Come to Myself until about

Dec 7 Saturday When our Regiment got paid off again I received Thirty five Dollars & Thirty five cts

Dec 8 Sunday I was quite unwell Sent letter to Sister Deborah by Lew Ecks [Lewis Eck of Company E] . . .

Dec 10 Tuesday Send Deborah letter informing Her of my Sickness . . .

Dec 12 Thursday Wrote to Sister Deborah to Send me Down One Bbl fresh Butter Bot Pen Knife of [illegible] for One Dollar Wrote letter to Mother also One to Sisters Mary & Alvina

[45] "Springfield" here must be an error — Springfield is in the southwestern part of Missouri, while Sedalia is in the central western section of the state, almost directly west from St. Louis. Springfield, at this time, was in the hands of the Confederate troops.

Dec 13 Friday Sent the St Louis Demmocrat to Howard One to Mary and the Republican to Charles Robbins . . .

Dec 15 Sunday warm & pleasant went to Ampitheatre & Heard Rev Mr Ingalls Deliver a Discourse . . .

Dec 19 Thursday Warm & Pleasant 8 Oclock A M got letter from Sister Deborah writen on 14th Dec Sent My Sister Deborah Thirty Seven Dollars By United States Express Ca. [care of] Robt Willis Agt Paid fifty Cents. During Night turned Cold S. W. Buell Down from Keokuk

Dec 20 Friday Cloudy & Cold Got 2 Boxes of Provision & 125# Butte[r] from Mr Howard & Lady and My Sister W. H. Austin from Keokuk sent 2 Pen Knifes Up By Hine to George & Johny Howard . . .

St Louis Mo

Dec 23 Monday Clear & Warm about 2 Oclock our Regt got ordors to Move Down To the City took up our Quarters on 8 Street Opposit[e] McDowels Collage Our Business to the City was to guard the Reble Prisoners taken by Gen. Pope[46] about 1200 in Number I went on Duty with about one Hundred Soldiers around the Collage which was fixed up for the Prisoners[47] about 11 Oclock the Prisoners arived by the Paccific Rail Road guarded by the 25th Indiana Infantry Vols the Prisoners Remained in the Cars during the Night

Dec 24 Tuesday Clear & Warm about 8 Oclock our Regt went to the Depot of the Pacciffic R. R. in Company with the 25th Indiana the Prisoners were Marched up to the Collage and put therein for Safe Keeping they were about as Rough a set of Men as I ever Saw they Composed all Sorts Seizes & Complection

Dec 25 Wednesday Cloudy but Pleasant this is Christmas I remained

[46] Brig.-Gen. John Pope, in command of Federal forces between the Osage and Missouri rivers, had captured a large number of prisoners in actions against Confederate General Sterling Price who was trying to cut Federal lines on the Missouri River. For this series of actions, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 382–453 *passim*.

[47] McDowell Medical College had been abandoned by its head, a Dr. McDowell, whose sympathies were with the South, and had been converted into a prison. Anderson, *The Story of a Border City During the Civil War*, 188-9; Lurton D. Ingersoll, *Iowa and the Rebellion . . .* (Philadelphia, 1866), 36; Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, Jan. 6, 1862; John T. Bell, *Tramps and Triumphs of the Second Iowa Infantry . . .* (Omaha, 1886), 3.

in & about Quarters all day among the Rebles that were Captured were the following

Col. Magoffin[48] Brother to Govr Magoffin of Kentucky

Col Alexandre who fought in the Battles [of] Dug Spring Wilsons Creek & Lexington[49]

Dr Smith one of the Welthiest and largest Slave Holders of Missouri[50]

M C Kean Sheriff of Benton County

Dr Moore & Major Harris of Syracuse

Col Robinson who commanded the Rebles at Blackater [Black Water Creek, or Milford] in Battles D.S.W.C. [Dug Springs, Wilsons Creek] & Lexington

also Lieut Col Robinson a third & fourth Brother these four Brothers are said to be among the most Responsable and influential Men in Saline Co. Mo[51]

Judge Dickey of Charriton County Mo

Judge John C. Flood of the Common pleas Court of Brunswick Chariton County Mo

Rev M. G. Caples Gen. Sterling Price's Chaplin at Headqu[a]rters a Methodes Clergyman[52]

[48] Col. Ebenezer Magoffin had been captured by Pope's patrols on December 9, was paroled to see his dying wife, broke that parole, and was re-captured on December 21. *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. I, 236; Series I, Vol. VIII, 418, 453. In February of 1862 Magoffin was tried for murder and breaking of his parole, found guilty and sentenced to be shot, but "subsequently escaped." *Ibid.*, Series II, Vol. I, 293–353.

[49] C. B. Alexander, Colonel of the Missouri State Guard. *Ibid.*, Series II, Vol. I, 347. Dug Springs, Wilson's Creek, and Lexington were battles which took place in Missouri during August and September, 1861.

[50] On December 22 Pope wrote to Halleck, regarding the prisoners he was sending to St. Louis: "I beg to state in reference to prisoners sent down in charge of Colonel Davis that much care should be observed in the examination and disposal of them which perhaps the provost-marshal-general in Saint Louis may not give. Many of the prisoners are the most dangerous men in this whole State and have been the most active and influential in fomenting disturbances. One in particular, a Doctor Smith, is a man of large wealth owning nearly 200 negroes. . . ." *Ibid.*, Series II, Vol. I, 236-7.

[51] This may refer to F. S. Robertson, a Colonel in the Missouri State Guards, who was in command at the battle of Milford, or Blackwater Creek, and was there captured. One brother, Walter Robertson, was a secretary and aide to the Colonel. *Ibid.*, Series II, Vol. I, 345, 349.

[52] Mr. Caples was placed on parole. On March 25, 1862, Bernard G. Farrar, Provost-Marshal-General at St. Louis, wrote of him: "It has been brought to the knowledge of the commanding general that one Caples, a prisoner on parole, whose teachings and example has been productive of much trouble in Chariton, Saline and

Capt John Ball of Brunswick Mo
Joseph C Parks Chaplin of Gen. Clarks division of Prices army
James Applegate Peter Zay Elias Elliott & Mr Warden of Chariton County & S T Chapman of St Louis the family residence of the Prisoner last named is at the 3d Door west of 12th Street on the North Side of Wash. Ave. next the residence of Hon. F. P Blair, Jr.[53]
Dress Perade in Evening . . .

Dec 29 Sunday Clear & Warm Great many spectators about to see prisoners

Dec 30 Monday Clear & Warm Sent letter to Chs Robbins Got pass went out into the City 83 Prisoners Brot in Sent Paper [to] Charles Robbins

Dec 31 Tuesday warm & Clear Wrote Letter to Sister Deborah Regt Inspected by Lieut Colonel Baker[54]

Jan 1st 1862 Wednesday cold & cloudy On Duty to day Sergt of Guard over Prisoners

Jan 2 Thursday cloudy cold & Sleete got pass to go to Express office to see about Box sent me f[o]und it there promise to send it up Friday

Jan 3 Friday cloudy cold Rain Recd Box Sent from Home from the American Express Office 125 lbs of Butt[e]r & Provisions

Jan 4 Saturday cloudy cold Disarmed prisoners took about five Hours got through about 5 Oclock P M took about 40 pistols and lot of Knives from Prisoners . . .

Howard Counties has [been] appointed to preach at Glasgow on the 29th and 30th instant. The mischief wrought by this man has been so great and so fully proven to me that in the absence of any order on the subject from headquarters I cannot hesitate to do what I feel to be a duty to the Government and to exercise a right with which my office invests me. In the absence of any local provost-marshal at Glasgow to whom I would address a formal order on the subject I have to request you to inform Mr. Caples that I forbid his exercising in any manner the functions of a preacher or public speaker in the counties of Saline, Chariton and Howard until further orders. . . ." *Ibid.*, Series II, Vol. I, 175-6.

[53] Francis P. Blair, Jr., son of the famous editor of the Washington *Globe*, was the leader of the Unionists in Missouri. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:332–4.

[54] James Baker of Bloomfield, Iowa, enlisted as Captain of Company G, Second Iowa, in May, 1861; was promoted to Lieut.-Col. on Nov. 2, 1861, and to Colonel on June 22, 1862. He was killed at Corinth, Miss., October, 1862. *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:110.

Jan 6 Monday Cloudy & Cold 2d Iowa Regiment got paid off to Day I Received thirty four Dollars (34^{00}) . . .

Jan 8 Wednesday Cloudy Cold Rain went to Express office American on Main Street Sent $\$90^{00}$ Ninety Dollars Home Sixty to Mr Howard and (30) to Sister Deborah Sent letter to Sister got letter from E G Y . . .

Jan 14 Tuesday Cloudy & cold Got pass to city W H Mayberry [Maybery] and I went to see Mrs Mitchell of St Joseph stoping then at Mrs Austin's Got my Likeness taken to send to Elisabeth my Sister

Jan 15 Wednesday woke up in Morning found the Ground covered with Snow Cloudy & Warm 24 More Prisoners Came in to Day . . .

Jan 20 Monday Cloudy & warm John Taugher Reduc[ed] to Ranks Cause Drinks to Day I weighed 173# . . .

Feby 3 Monday pleasant Cloudy Went to St Louis Theatre in Evening Play Nick of the Woods . . .

Feb 9 Sunday Clear & Warm Sent letter to Deborah also one to C Robbins Guarded Prisoners about 900 in Number Down to the River Shiped on Board City of Alton for Alton Prison[55]

Ohio & Cumberland River

Feb 10 Monday Clear & Warm about 3 oclock the Regt Moved Down to River without Flag Unfurled or Music By ordor of Gen Hamilton for our Bad Conduct in Regards to the Museum[56] Shiped on Board the T L McGill Left St Louis about 11 Cl P.M. Down the River . . .

[55] Letter from "D" to Keokuk paper: "This afternoon we escorted some 700 prisoners, which had hitherto been under our charge, down to the river, and bidding them an affectionate farewell, saw them safe off for Alton. As the boat 'shoved out,' they gave three hearty cheers for the 2d Iowa Infantry, in token of their appreciation of the kindness with which they had been treated by them, and then gave three more equally hearty for 'Jeff. Davis.'" Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, Feb. 19, 1862.

[56] This incident, the destruction of articles in the McDowell College Museum, was reported in the Keokuk paper under the headline, "Iowa Second in Trouble," and the order of Brig.-Gen. Schuyler Hamilton was quoted in full with the comment: "Schuyler Hamilton may be a very proper man, but his action in this case does not prove it. The attempt to disgrace a whole regiment on account of the misconduct of 'some miscreants,' probably a very few, and quite possibly not one of them members of the regiment, does not redound to his credit. And unless he furnishes to Gov. Kirkwood some tangible evidence that members of the regiment were guilty, we hope Gov. Kirkwood will give him such a scathing as he will remember to the day of his death." Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, Feb. 19, 1862. For Kirkwood's reply to Hamilton, see W. W. Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood* . . . (Iowa City,

Feb 12 Wednesday Clear & Warm arived at Cairio about 9 Oclock left Cairio up the Ohio about 3 P M

Fort Donaldson Tennessee

Feb 13 Thursday Passed Paducah 1 Ocl in morning went up Cumberland River about 4 Oclock P M came up with fleet 17 Steamers in all & Six Gun Boats Numbering 12000 Troops Snowed During Night

Feb 14 Friday Morning Disembarked five Mile Below fort Donaldson & 75 mile from the Mouth Martched to within about 3/4 of mile of Enemies fortification and Quartered the forces that arived Here before us Under Command of Gen. U S Grant Had Been fighting Since Tuesday Morning to Day our Gun Boats let Loose on the Enemy[57] Cold through Day and Night Snow lay on Damp Ground without Blankets

Feb 15 Saturday 2 Oclock P M Our Regt Charged up on the Enemies Right wing took the outer Breast works Drove Back two Regt 2d Regt Ky & Tenn. Tigers[58] Held this position all Night without Sleepe

1893), 210-11. See also, Bell, *Tramps and Triumphs of the Second Iowa Infantry . . .*, 4.

[57] For the battle of Fort Donelson, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VII, 157–416; *Campaigns in Kentucky and Tennessee . . .* (Vol. VII, *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*, 1908), 3–29; Capt. V. P. Twombly, *The Second Iowa Infantry at Fort Donelson . . .* (Des Moines, [1901]); Ingersoll, *Iowa and the Rebellion . . .*, 37–46; Bell, *Tramps and Triumphs of the Second Iowa Infantry . . .*, 4–7; *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:92–4; S. H. M. Byers, *Iowa in War Times* (Des Moines, 1888), 91–107; Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman, *The American Iliad: The Epic Story of the Civil War as narrated by Eyewitnesses and Contemporaries* (Indianapolis, 1947), 144–67. Fort Donelson was located on the Cumberland River in Tennessee, just below the Kentucky-Tennessee boundary.

[58] This famous charge broke the back of the defense of Fort Donelson, which was surrendered the following day. Colonel Tuttle reported on the action as follows: "When we arrived at the top of the hill, nearly opposite the right of the enemy's works, . . . I deployed Companies A and B as skirmishers. They immediately crossed a ravine in front of our line and skirmished until night, when they were called in. In the mean time the regiment was assigned position on the extreme left of our forces, where we spent a cold and disagreeable night, without tents or blankets. We remained in this position until 2 p. m. the next day, when we were ordered to storm the fortifications of the enemy in front by advancing the left wing of the regiment, supported a short distance in the rear by the right wing. I took command of the left wing in person and proceeded in line of battle steadily up the hill until we reached the fortifications without firing a gun. On reaching the works we found the enemy fleeing before us, except a few, who were promptly put to the bayonet. I then gave the order to fire, which was responded to with fatal precision until the right wing, with Lieutenant-Colonel Baker, arrived, headed by General Smith, when we formed in line of battle, again under a galling fire, and charged on the encamp-

Feb 16 Sunday 9 Oclock AM the fort Surrendered about Twenty Thousand Prisoners Our Regt took the Post of Honor[59] Marched in ahead the Day was Devoted in gathering up Prisoners property &c

Feb 17 Monday was spent in about same Mannor our killed and Wounded on Saturday 15" Feby

R[ichard] Higham Killed E[li] Ramsey Wounded
[William] K Hall G D Saylor [Jerry J.] Goodwin Seth Farr [James M.] Patten S[amuel] W Eavans [Evans] [William K.] Harper[60]

Feb 18 Tuesday took tramp around Breast work which are about 7 Mile around went on Battle field where 17th 18-9-20-11-31 Ills 7-14 Iowa 25 Ind & 2d Ky Regt fought Saw a great Many Dead on Boath Sides . . .

Feb 22 Saturday 34 Guns fired in Honor of Washingtons Birth Day Sent letter to E G . . .

ment across the ravine in front, the enemy still retreating before us. After we had reached the summit of the hill beyond the ravine we made a stand and occupied it for over an hour. . . . We then took up our position behind the intrenchments. . . . During the night our pickets, who were posted in the enemy's camp, were fired upon several times; but with that exception all remained quiet until morning, when the enemy gave signal for a parley, which was succeeded by the joyful intelligence that they had surrendered the fort." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VII, 229-30. In response to Confederate Lt.-Gen. Simon B. Buckner's request for terms for surrendering the Fort, Grant replied: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted." *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. VII, 160-61. For a reminiscent account of the battle by J. A. M. Collins of Company A, see *Minutes of the Third Annual Reunion of the Second Iowa Infantry . . . 1886*, 13–16; see also, Charles C. Nott [Captain of the Fifth Iowa Cavalry], *Sketches of the War . . .* (New York, 1863), 20–41.

[59] This action somewhat soothed the ruffled feelings of the Second Iowa, so recently disgraced at St. Louis. General Halleck telegraphed N. B. Baker at Des Moines: "The Second Iowa Infantry proved themselves the bravest of the brave. They had the honor of heading the column which entered Fort Donelson." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VII, 635. The receipt of the news in the Iowa General Assembly, which was in session at the time, is graphically described by the Des Moines reporter of the Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, Feb. 26, 1862. "As the words, 'Fort Donelson taken, and 15,000 prisoners captured,' came out, men jumped upon the desk, danced, hallowed, stamped, and sang, and hats and caps were flying in every direction. . . . After which, sundry and divers persons agreed to suspend the Prohibitory Law for this afternoon, and the old cannon was brought out to give thirty-four rounds in honor of the battle." (The thirty-four rounds signified the thirty-four states in the Union in 1861, including the seceded Confederate States.)

[60] See Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, Feb. 26, 1862, for account of killed and wounded in Company A. This issue of the paper also contains many accounts of the battle of Fort Donelson.

Feb 24 Monday Pleasant Great Many troops going to Nashvill[e] we Have been Ordored but Ordor Countermanded . . .

Feb 27 Thursday Pleasant Unwell the Gov of Iowa Kirkwood Dr Hughs and Kellogg arived at this place[61] Speechts made at Night by Kirkwood Hughs Kellogg Col Tuttle Lieut Col. Baker[62] & Others also music by the band

Feb 28 Friday Pleasant Gov. Kirkwood Dr Hughs & Kellogg left for Home taking our Regimental Flag which was Shot full of Bullet Holes at the Storming of this place[63] . . .

Mar 3 Monday Cold Snow Recieved letter from Sister Alvina Made Box for Elmore Jennings who Had Died the Night before and was Buried to Day[64] He was Member of our Company Sent letter to S M Archer Keokuk also one to Sisters Alvina & Mary Goddard Kansas . . .

Mar 5 Wednesday Cloudy Cold 25th Indiana Regt left for Ft Henry our Brigad [e] got Ordors to be Ready to March in Morning

Mar 6 Thursday Cloudy & Cold Snowed last Night Ground covered

[61] "The Legislature, on the 19th, passed a resolution authorizing the Governor to send three persons immediately to Cairo and Donelson, to look after our sick and wounded. In obedience to this resolution, Gov. Kirkwood, Surgeon General Hughes and Dr. S. C. Brownell, of Des Moines, were to start yesterday." Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, Feb. 26, 1862. Dr. Joseph C. Hughes, Surgeon General of Iowa, had been a member of the faculty and dean at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Keokuk: *History of Lee County, Iowa* . . . (1879), 697-8. For Dr. Hughes' account of visiting wounded on the way to Donelson, see Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, Mar. 12, 1862. Dr. Brownell was left at the hospital at Paducah, Ky., and did not continue on to Donelson. The Kellogg mentioned by Mackley is R. D. Kellogg, a member of the Iowa House of Representatives from Decatur County. Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood* . . . , 211.

[62] For Nathaniel Bradley Baker, Adjutant-General of Iowa, see Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . ., 16–21.

[63] "The flag of the gallant Iowa Second, the first which was planted on the enemy's works at Donelson, arrived yesterday en route for Iowa. Three of the color bearers were killed and three wounded. It is to hang over the Speaker's Chair in the Iowa House of Representatives, and after the adjournment of the Legislature will be deposited in the Archives of the Historical Society. The flag bears the marks of the terrible conflict at Donelson, having no less than sixteen bullet holes through it." Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, March 12, 1862. Captain Huston reported: "Our regimental flag has some twelve or fifteen bullet holes through it. The Ensign was shot down with three balls in him; two more followed him; the fourth man carried the flag through." *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1862. A description of the reception of the flag by the Iowa House appeared in the March 26, 1862, issue of the Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*.

[64] *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:155.

about 2 Oclock P M left Fort Donelson as also did the 7 & 14" Iowa. Snowed all Day very cold Roads very Muddy Camped at Night in a Big Hollow about 5 Mile from Ft Donelson at place Cumberland Iron Works[65] Several log Huts Iron works Burned Down country very Rough

4 mile above Fort Henry on Tennessee River

Mar 7 Friday Pleasant about 8 Oclock commenced our March arived at the Tennessee River about Twelve 4 mile above Ft Henry[66] low Bottom land Half Mile Back from River great Number Troops Here River full of Boats 3 Division Under first Brigade 2d 7th 12th 14th Iowa Regts[67] [illegible] Sharp Shooters

Mar 8 Saturday Pleasant No Troops arived Here to Day got letters from Sister D[e]borah & Jno. Coffindoffer lived on parched Corn to Day

Mar 9 Sunday Pleasant about 2 Oclock PM got Some Rations River falling Heretofore Botom overflowen Commenced Raining in Evening Rained all Night

Mar 10 Monday Pleasant Boats all left but Six or 8 got pr Shoes

Mar 11 Tuesday Pleasant Boats all gone above in forenoon got ordors to Draw 3 Days Rations be Ready to Move at Moments Notice about

[65] "March 6th, 1862, we left Donelson, camping that night near some old iron furnaces, said to be the property of John Bell, of Tennessee, and the next day pitched our tents on the bank of the Tennessee river, at a place we called Metal Landing on account of the immense quantities of pig-iron found piled up there awaiting shipment. Here we suffered for food for the first time, the soldiers stealing the corn fed to the mules unless the teamsters stood guard over the feeding animals." Bell, *Tramps and Triumphs of the Second Iowa Infantry . . .*, 7. This is the beginning of the movement south to Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh, and Corinth, where the Confederate forces under Albert Sidney Johnston had retired after the defeats at Forts Henry and Donelson. For the battle of Shiloh, see *Campaigns in Kentucky and Tennessee . . .*, 33–202; Ingersoll, *Iowa and the Rebellion . . .*, 61–9; Byers, *Iowa in War Times*, 122–48; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, *passim*; Eisenschiml and Newman, *The American Iliad . . .*, 168–203. For map of this area, see James T. Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History* (New York, 1943), Plate 127.

[66] Fort Henry, captured by Grant on February 6, 1862, was located on the Tennessee River about eleven miles west of Fort Donelson on the Cumberland.

[67] These four Iowa regiments, under command of Colonel James M. Tuttle, made up the First Brigade, Second Division (not the third, as Mackley states), commanded by General W. H. L. Wallace, of the Army of the Tennessee, under command of Maj.-Gen. U. S. Grant. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 101. For General Wallace's account of this period, see Wallace, *Life & Letters of General W. H. L. Wallace*, 168–96. General Wallace was killed in the first day's battle at Shiloh.

3 PM the Emma & Champion No 4 Steamers came Up about 6 Oclock part of our Regt went on Board the Emma & Bal[ance] on Champion which left the Same Evening[68]

On Tennesse River

Mar 12 Wednesday Pleasant about Daylight our Boat Shoved off & we were soon moving up the Tennessee River at a Rapid Rate about 10 Oclock AM we passed the Rail Road Runing from Memphis to Clarksville[69] about 5 P M. we passed the Champion Ran togather all Night stoped about Dusk 2 Hours Went to farm Hous[e] everything Moved away all gone but old man & Son inlaw pretty badly Scared they Had been informed that we were going to Destroy everything

Savanah Tenn on Board Steamer Emma

Mar 13 Thursday Commenced Raining in Night Rained pretty much all Day about 7 a m Caught up with the Main fleet at Savanah[70] small Town of 1500 inhabitants . . .

Mar 15 Saturday Rained all Day went acrost into Savanah Recrossed the River [at] Night Boats all gone above but about 25 Reported fighting above Got letters from Deborah & E G

Mar 16 Sunday Cloudy but pleasant over Head Di[s]agreeable under foot . . . about 5 PM John Brown Co G 7th Iowa fell overboard off from White Cloud & Drowned[71]

Mar 17 Monday Pleasant Wrote to Sister Deborah Number of Boats Came Down from above Empty

Pittsburgh Landing

Mar 18 Tuesday Pleasant Conley Came from Keokuk Brot me a letter from Sister 3 Oclock PM left Savanah passed flat Boats 4 mile above Savanah arived at Pittsburgh Landing 4 PM 8 Mile above Savanah there Had been a fight Bet[ween] our Troops & Rebles some 8 or 10 of the Rebles Killed we lost one or Two Buried 2 inches underground

[68] There were 153 steamboats and 14 gunboats in the fleet which carried the Federal troops south. Mackley lists 71 in his diary. A complete list is given in Rev. T. M. Hurst, "Battle of Shiloh," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, 5:87-8 (July, 1919).

[69] The Memphis, Clarksville & Louisville R. R.

[70] Savannah, Tenn., a few miles above Pittsburg Landing.

[71] *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:936.

Mar 19 Wednesday Rained during last Night Cloudy this morning staid on Boat all Day

Mar 20 Thursday Pleasant went on Duty all Day geting off Commisary & Regimental Stores our Regt went into Camp Regularly for the first time since leaving Birds Point one Mile from the River in a Nice little Prairie of about 50 Acres[72] . . .

[72] The diary continues until March 28, recording only the weather and incidentals of camp life, then ends abruptly. A week later, on April 6, at the battle of Shiloh, Mackley was wounded in the arm. *Roster Iowa Soldiers*, 1:171; Keokuk *Weekly Gate City*, April 23, 1862.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society has brought together a collection of Historical and Pictorial Maps dealing with Iowa from 1673 to 1946. These maps, together with the Iowa Bookshelf and John Brown's cannon, were on display at the Winter Fair at Cedar Rapids, February 23, 24, 25, 1950, where they aroused a great deal of interest. The same collection was also shown at the Iowa Mid-Century Industrial Exposition at Des Moines, March 25 through April 2, 1950.

O. D. Collis, who has made his *Rob Roy* III available to members of the State Historical Society of Iowa on several occasions, for Mississippi steamboat cruises, has been presented with a special award of merit by the American Association for State and Local History of Washington, D. C., in recognition of his services.

Mrs. G. E. Greene of Newton has loaned to the Society, for copying, diaries written in the 1860's and 1870's by Ellen Strang, a young Quaker girl of Grundy County. J. C. Bishop of Muscatine has loaned the Society letters of Jerome Carskadden describing his early life in the Muscatine of the 1850's and 1860's. Representative Fred Schwengel has given the Society a letterbook of Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Viall of Keokuk, which covers the years 1863 and 1864 when Viall was Special Aide to Governor Kirkwood. Wayne W. Polk of Sidney has sent in several account books of the 1870's of the drug store of J. N. Penn and Son of Sidney.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

February 19	Address at Cedar Rapids Peoples Church.
February 21	Addressed Cedar Rapids Law Club.
March 9	Addressed Dubuque County Historical Society.
March 22	Addressed Maquoketa Rotary Club.
March 24	Address before Mississippi River Parkway Commission, Burlington.
March 27	Addressed Fort Madison Rotary Club.

The following persons were elected to membership in the Society from December 15, 1949, through February 22, 1950.

Adel
High School
Alden
Public School
Algona
Public Schools
Alleman
Consolidated School
Allison
Butler Co. Rural Schools
Ames
Mrs. Harriet Bell Carlander
Lawton Mikell Patten
Anamosa
Independent School District
Anthon
Public School
Arcadia
Public Schools
Atlantic
Miss Lillian Cochrane
Aurora
Independent Schools
Bagley
Independent School
Bancroft
Dr. Ralph E. Weber
Battle Creek
Sterling H. Knoll
Bedford
A. W. Hamblin
Taylor Co. Public Schools
Belle Plaine
John R. Burrows
I. M. Fisher
Bellevue
Joe A. Young
Bettendorf
Mrs. John C. Shenk
Blairsburg
Jason B. McCoskey
Blairstown
Consolidated School
Buckingham
John W. Simpson
Burlington
Frank Schramm
Burt
Independent School
Carson
Consolidated School
Cedar Falls
J. E. Cade
Cedar Rapids
Russell I. Hess
Miss Florence Jameson
Fred J. Kluss
Linn Co. Supt. of Schools
Miss Emma Nyere
John C. Palmer
Charles City
Floyd County Schools
Charter Oak
Independent School
Clarence
Miss Eveadell Brink
Consolidated School
Public Library
Clarion
Thos. O. Cooper

J. K. Hilton
Public Schools
Climbing Hill
Climbing Hill School
Clinton
Miss Bernice Capion
Clutier
Public School
Collins
W. Dean McKee
Conrad
Consolidated School
Cornell
Consolidated School
Corning
Miss Maude M. Friman
Council Bluffs
Miss Thelma Bothe
Davenport
Joseph B. Drechsler
William R. Kniegge
William Lustfield
Miss Nelda Pilkenton
Scott County Public Schools
Miss Bertha E. Seaman
Mrs. Harold C. Strong
Sycamore School Dist. No. 5
Ollo H. Vinall
Robert Everett White
W. E. Whittlesey
Des Moines
Austin Augustine
A. M. Heusner
Mrs. Ethel T. Holmes
Miss Jean Kleineck
Frank C. Lorey, Jr.
Donald M. Malum
Mrs. Harold M. Peterson
Miss Phyllis Tschudi
Miss Kathryn Walsh
L. Tom Weatherwax
Eldridge
Miss Lydia Kuehl
Public School
Ellsworth
Consolidated School
Emmetsburg
Palo Alto Co. Public Schools
Epworth
Public Schools
Farnhamville
Public Schools
Fontanelle
Independent School Dist.
Forest City
Waldorf College
Fort Atkinson
High School
Fort Dodge
Miss Dorothy Lindquist
Dr. John C. Shrader
Fort Madison
Lee Co. Public Schools
Glidden
Consolidated Schools
Grinnell
Public Schools
Miss Ina L. Sprague
Griswold
Franklin Jorgensen
Miss Clara L. Nelson
John E. Swanson
Dan L. Wilcox

Harlan
Ray A. Killion
Hawkeye
Harold G. Lincoln
Hazleton
Edward C. Mason
Hudson
Consolidated School
Humboldt
Stanley Burchfield
Independence
Ralph J. Farris
Indianola
Warren Co. Supt. of Schools
Iowa City
E. W. Chittenden
Robert L. Ebel
Mrs. Edna Harter
High School
Junior High School
Frank E. Lee
Laurence Leffler
Ted H. McCarrel
W. J. Matthes
Donald E. Northup
C. O. Parks
Dr. E. W. Paulus
Robert F. Ray
Mrs. W. E. Starr
Miss Cynthia Tedrow
T. Roger Thompson
Mrs. Paul E. Vermillion
Janesville
Harry Haven
Jefferson
Greene Co. Rural Schools
Jesup
Public School
Kalona
Public School
Keystone
Consolidated School
Kinross
Consolidated School
Knoxville
Dr. F. M. Roberts
Ladora
Public School
Laurens
Public School
Le Grand
Thorval Thompson
Libertyville
High School
Liscomb
Geo. H. Smith
Lorimor
Public Schools
Lowden
W. H. Witte
Manchester
Mrs. Amy Bradley
Maquoketa
Robert B. Grapengeter
Jackson Co. Rural Schools
Public Schools
Marathon
Consolidated School
Marengo
Iowa Co. Supt. of Schools
Marshalltown
C. John Anderson

Mason City
Mrs. Hazel V. Chappell
Miss Marian Duncan
L. T. Hawkins
Ralph S. Stanbery
Modale
Consolidated School
Montezuma
Miss Helen Pugh
Miss Millie L. Zorn
Moravia
Independent School
Mount Ayr
Mrs. H. C. Beard
Public Schools
Mount Pleasant
Henry Co. School System
Mrs. Lois H. Mills
Pleasant Lawn Cons. School
Mrs. Donald Wolfe
Mount Union
Milo W. Mathews
Mount Vernon
Mrs. J. W. McCutcheon
Muscatine
Donald S. Day
Nashua
Public School
New Hampton
Mrs. Edward P. Donohue
Newton
Dr. Orville W. Bunker
Norwalk
Consolidated School
Oelwein
Wayne F. Kemmerer
Karl L. Kraft
Olin
Consolidated School
Onawa
Mrs. Florence Uptegrove
Osage
Wm. Salisbury
Osceola
Clarke Co. Supt. of Schools
Oskaloosa
Val Graham
Ottumwa
Miss Violet Chapman
Dr. C. E. Gross
Owasa
Public Schools
Oxford Junction
High School
Postville
Public School
Randalia
Public Schools
Red Oak
Austin Helgerson
H. Deemer Houghton
Montgomery Co. Pub. Schools
Rinard
Clarence Decker
Rock Valley
High School
Rockford
Public Schools
Salix
Public School
Sheldon
School Library
Shenandoah
Ralph W. Childs

Miss Dorothy Nickols
Sidney
Fremont Co. Rural Schools
Public School
Sigourney
Keokuk Co. Superintendent
Sioux City
Bishop Jos. M. Mueller
Woodbury Co. Bd. of Educ.
Solon
Independent School
Springville
Roland W. Safley
Stanton
E. L. Erickson
E. E. Larson
Stanley Norris
David J. Sholeen
Swea City
Consolidated Schools
Tipton
Lester N. Gill
Mrs. James L. Huygens
Turin
Mrs. L. W. Fischer
Victor
Rev. Martin L. Greer
Walnut
Public School
Washington
Lyman Carbee
Mrs. John Meredith Lloyd
Waterloo
Mrs. Lois Bergman
Black Hawk Co. Pub. Schools
Mrs. Birdenia Boehnke
Miss Marie Erbe
Dr. Arthur F. Koch
Wellman
J. F. Irwin
Public Schools
West Branch
Mrs. Alda M. Rarick
West Liberty
Public School
Springdale Cons. School
Williams
Independent School
Woodward
High School
Arizona
Clark Souers, Tucson
Mrs. W. T. Tompkins, Tucson
California
Frank W. Pearson, Beverly Hills
L. H. Westenberger, Pasadena
Colorado
Dr. E. F. Renaud, Fort Collins
Florida
Mrs. Lilla R. Palmer, Gainesville
Illinois
Northwestern University Library, Evanston
Mrs. Earl Snyder, Fulton
W. J. Coultas, Moline
Missouri
Public Library, Kansas City
W. Glenn Rule, St. Louis
James V. Swift, St. Louis
New York
James A. Barlow, Amenia
W. H. Maddock, Rochester
Oregon
Lee C. Johnson, La Grande

C. A. Gerken, Portland

Pennsylvania

Gordon F. Hostettler, Philadelphia

Rear Admiral Allan J. Chantry, Radnor

Texas

Miss Rebecca M. Cameron, Marshall

Iowa Historical Activities

The 28th annual History Conference was held at the State University of Iowa, March 3 and 4, 1950, under the sponsorship of the department of history, the extension division, the college of education, and the graduate college. Among the papers read were "The Crisis of the 1890's in the United States," by Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University, and "Senator William Boyd Allison: Last of the Radical Republicans," by Leland L. Sage of Iowa State Teachers College.

A Dubuque County Historical Society has been organized with 200 members. Horace S. Poole was elected president; Frank Rhomberg, vice-president; Jack Cody, treasurer; and Elsie Datisman, secretary. The board of directors includes: Mrs. William Avery Smith, John Rider Wallis, R. P. Roedell, George J. Hohmann, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Mathias M. Hoffman, Joseph Rhomberg, Arnold Stierman, and the elected officers. A dinner on March 9 was addressed by William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the State Historical Society. Among the objectives of the new society will be the preservation of such Dubuque landmarks as the shot tower, the city hall, and the city jail.

Earl T. Hoover was elected president of the Ringgold County Historical Society at its meeting in August, 1949. Other officers are Miss Myrta Shannon, vice-president; Arthur Palmer, secretary; and Mrs. Floyd Bliss, treasurer.

The Guthrie County Historical Society held its second meeting of the year on February 12, 1950, at the Hotel Panora in Panora. Plans are being made for the centennial of the county in 1951. A history of each industry and institution in the community will be compiled, and the society is anxious to obtain representative members from each community in the county, so that the historical work can be unified.

Calmar in Winneshiek County is planning on a centennial observance during 1950. The original settlement at Calmar, then known as "Whiskey Grove," was made in 1850. Dr. John Eichorn is general chairman for the

celebration. A fund of $2,500 has been voted for the expenses of the centennial.

Other Historical Activities

A new historical magazine, *American Heritage*, is to be published quarterly by the American Association for State and Local History. The first number of this journal appeared in September of 1949, and continues the professional magazine of the same name, which was originally founded and edited by Mary E. Cunningham. It is to be a "magazine of the American heritage as seen at its 'grass roots.'" The magazine has an attractive format and is illustrated with both black and white and colored pictures. Subscriptions are $3.00 yearly and may be sent to the Association at Montpelier, Vermont.

A useful booklet has been published by the New York State Education Department, "Historic and Scientific Sites of New York State." Prepared by John J. Vrooman, this 32-page booklet contains a map of New York's historic sites and is copiously illustrated.

The City Art Museum of St. Louis held a special exhibition in the Fall of 1949, the "Mississippi Panorama," which is described as "an exhibition of the life and landscape of the Father of Waters and its great tributary, the Missouri." A catalog of the exhibit has been published, which contains not only descriptions of all the pictures and models on display, but an article by Charles van Ravenswaay on "Character and History of the Mississippi," and "The Art of the Mississippi," by Perry T. Rathbone.

The thirty-first annual Indiana History Conference, sponsored by the Indiana Historical Society, the Society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana Historical Bureau, and the Indiana History Teachers Association, was held at Indianapolis on December 10, 1949.

The annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society was held October 8, 1949, at Lincoln. A feature of the meeting was a panel discussion of the Missouri Basin Development Program. Avery Batson, Bureau of Reclamation; Gladwin E. Young, field representative of the Secretary of Agriculture; and Col. Henry J. Hoeffer, of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, presented the programs of their particular fields. "The People's Program" was discussed by Raymond A. McConnell, Jr., editor of the *Nebraska State Journal*.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's. By Henry Steele Commager. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950. $5.00.) This study of the "American Mind" by one of America's most brilliant historians is a valuable contribution to intellectual history. Dr. Commager writes: "The far from inarticulate major premise of my investigation is that there is a distinctively American way of thought, character, and conduct." The author treats of the many phases of thought which have a bearing on his subject: literature, economics, philosophy, historical writing, political theory, and the law. A bibliography points the way to further reading on these various divisions of American thought.

Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier. By Ray Allen Billington. (New York, Macmillan Co., 1949. $6.00.) Dr. Billington states in his preface that his book "attempts to follow the pattern that Frederick Jackson Turner might have used had he ever compressed his voluminous researches on the American frontier within one volume." After an introductory chapter on the "frontier hypothesis," the author divides his study into a treatment of the colonial, trans-Appalachian, and trans-Mississippi frontiers, and closes with a chapter on the "frontier heritage." A useful bibliography will be of aid to the student for further study.

The Earth Brought Forth: A History of Minnesota Agriculture to 1885. By Merrill E. Jarchow. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1949. $3.00.) An introductory chapter, "A Bird's-Eye View," presents an overall picture of Minnesota's agricultural development from 1840 to 1885. Succeeding chapters deal with the early settlers, land problems, the railroads, rural social life, mechanization, wheat, livestock, and dairying. The book closes with two chapters on "Bizarre Experiments and Sound Agriculture," and "Early Agricultural Societies and Fairs." Thus, every phase of early farming is covered. Attractively bound, well-written, and illus-

trated with contemporary drawings, this book is a welcome addition to the agricultural history of the Middle West.

The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It. By Richard Hofstadter. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. $4.00.) The development of American political ideas, from the founding fathers to Franklin D. Roosevelt, is discussed by Dr. Hofstadter in twelve chapters devoted to the outstanding political figures of the United States. A "Bibliographical Essay" lists additional readings on each subject.

With Various Voices: Recordings of North Star Life. By Theodore C. Blegen and Philip D. Jordan. (St. Paul, The Itasca Press, 1949. $5.00.) As part of Minnesota's centennial year, Professors Blegen and Jordan have gathered together outstanding source materials of Minnesota history, from Pierre Esprit Radisson's "The Western Lakes Region in Summer" (1654–1660) to Governor John Lind's "A Statesman Takes the Minnesota Inventory" (1899). The book includes contemporary accounts of exploration, the Indians, statehood, Minnesota's industries, cities, "Things of the Flesh and Spirit," and many other phases of the life of the state.

The Land Lies Open. By Theodore C. Blegen. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1949. $3.00.) Written in the "framework of the American past" as expressed in his *Grass Roots History*, Dr. Blegen here tells the story of the explorers and the early settlers of Minnesota. The lives and doings of the little people, rather than of the great ones, are grist for the author's mill, and from their stories he has drawn an intimate picture of the growth of one of the great states of the Middle West.

The Story of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949. $5.00.) The late Dr. Pease's excellent state history of Illinois, originally published in 1925, was revised shortly before his death, and has been re-issued as part of the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Illinois State Historical Society. This is not an isolated study of a state, but a history of that state integrated with the larger national scene.

This is Illinois: A Pictorial History. By Jay Monaghan. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949. $5.00.) As one of the Fiftieth Anniversary Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, this picture history presents the story of Illinois from the days of the Indians to modern times. The pictures are divided into six sections: "Illinois Before Statehood,"

"The Pioneer State," "Age of Experiment," "Reconstruction," "Illinois Comes of Age," and "The New Order."

The importance of pictures as historical source material is well recognized. A booklet recently published by the American Association for State and Local History — *Pictures and History,* by G. Hubert Smith — gives information on the collection, housing, and use of pictures by historical societies. This bulletin can be secured for thirty-five cents from the Association at Montpelier, Vermont.

Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History. By Louis C. Hunter. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949. $10.00.) From the introduction of steam navigation in the West to the "triumph of the railroads," this book is an account of steamboats on the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the lesser rivers of the Middle West. Mr. Hunter divides the treatment into three parts: the steamboat as an economic instrument; the steamboat as a business institution; and an account of the peak and decline of steamboat navigation. Every phase of steamboat transportation is discussed and the book is illustrated with maps, pictures, drawings, and charts.

Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663-1829. By Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. $3.50.) This is a scholarly study of the various socialist experiments in community living in early America. These experiments, according to Dr. Bestor, can not be explained in purely economic terms, but must be understood as communitarian: "because each made the community the heart of its plan." Rejecting other reform measures — individualism, revolution, or gradualism — the communitarians hoped to speed social reform by setting up ideal communities which would serve as examples for society. This work received the Beveridge Award in 1946 and its publication is sponsored by the American Historical Association.

Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War. By Kenneth P. Williams. (2 vols., New York, Macmillan Co., 1949. $12.50.) These are the first two volumes of a projected four-volume military history of the Civil War. The first volume deals with the war through the second

battle of Bull Run; the second, with events through the fall of 1863 to the appointment of Grant as commanding general.

The First Transcontinental Railroad: Central Pacific, Union Pacific. By John Debo Galloway. (New York, Simmons-Boardman, 1950. $5.00.) Written by a civil engineer, this is a study of the construction of the two railroads which, when they met at Promontory, Utah, were the first to span the continent. Mr. Galloway had access to the records of the two roads, and gives much factual information on the building of railroads in the 1860's. His biographical sketches of the builders of these two roads include those of two Iowans, Peter A. Dey and Grenville M. Dodge.

The Grange - Friend of the Farmer. By Charles M. Gardner. (Washington, D. C., National Grange, 1949. $3.50.) Described as a "concise reference history of America's oldest farm organization," this book sketches the history of the Grange from its founding in 1867 to the present day. It includes a history of the movement, together with biographical sketches of the Masters and of other prominent leaders in the Order. The author is high priest emeritus of the Grange.

White Pine Days on the Taquamenon. By William D. Hulbert. (Lansing, Historical Society of Michigan, 1949.) This is a series of sketches, written by a naturalist, about logging in upper Michigan. The book is published as a memorial to the author, who died in 1913.

Side Roads: Excursions into Wisconsin's Past. By Fred L. Holmes. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1949. $2.75.) In eleven stories of the past, from flower gardens, to homes, to sorghum and buckwheat cakes, Mr. Holmes has given the homely and intimate details of the life of yesterday. The stories could apply not only to Wisconsin, but to every part of the Middle West in the nineteenth century.

Northwoods Sketches. By Chase S. Osborn and Stellanova Osborn. (Lansing, Historical Society of Michigan, 1949.) Lewis Beeson writes in his introduction to this book: "The stories in *Northwoods Sketches* are not history, yet much is to be learned from them by the historian." The book is a collection of brief sketches by Governor Osborn of his memories of a lifetime spent in the "northwoods."

Robert Owen: Social Idealist. By Rowland Hill Harvey. (Vol. 38, Uni-

versity of California Publications in History, 1949.) Robert Owen is known chiefly in American history for his experimental colony at New Harmony, Indiana. This biography, written by the late Professor Harvey of the University of California at Los Angeles, is a sparkling account of his life in England and America, his unorthodox religious and political opinions, his failures and his successes.

The Newberry Library of Chicago has published a *Guide to the Burlington Archives in the Newberry Library, 1851-1901*. This valuable guide to one of the important railroad collections of the country was compiled by Elisabeth Coleman Jackson and Carolyn Curtis. According to Librarian Stanley Pargellis, "The Burlington Railroad was the first major corporation to deposit its 19th century records in a library for the use of qualified historians." Copies of this *Guide* are available to libraries and historians upon application to the Newberry Library.

Number 114 of Numismatic Notes and Monographs, published by the American Numismatic Society, is *Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826-1866*, by William H. Dillistin. The book may be obtained from the Society, Broadway at 156th St., New York 32, New York, for $3.50.

Iowa

The *Annals of Iowa* (October, 1949) contains an article by Emory H. English on Iowa's aviation history entitled "When Iowa Took to the Air," which traces the story of flying from W. Frank Brinton's efforts to build a blimp in 1899 to the present day. Lee McNeely, Clerk of the United States District Court of Northern Iowa, contributes two articles to this issue of the *Annals*: "Northern Judicial District of Iowa," and "Southern Judicial District of Iowa."

The January, 1949, issue of *The Minnesota Archaeologist* is devoted to an article on "The Enlarged Crevices of Northeastern Iowa," by Ellison Orr.

"Reconstruction days along the upper Mississippi were days of tremendous activity in amateur entertainments," writes Barbara Brice, in concluding her article on "The Amateur Theatre in Iowa Life," in the October, 1949, issue of *Mid-America*. The article deals with amateur theatricals

in Davenport in the 1860's and 1870's, and is a useful contribution to theatrical history. She discusses the various local groups and the plays or *tableaux vivants* which they presented. Of particular interest is the description of the various performances commemorating the centennial of American independence in 1876, and a Dickens carnival of 1880.

The August, 1949, issue of the *Journal of Rehabilitation* contains an article by Albert D. Libby, on "Training Blind Adults in Public School Shops," which recounts the work of the Iowa Commission for the Blind. Many positions in industry can be filled by persons without sight; all that is needed is training in the various operations. This training is now being provided, through cooperation between the public schools and the Iowa Commission, with gratifying results.

The Biography of Lenox College. By William R. Ferguson. (Hopkinton, Iowa, The Hopkinton *Leader*, 1949.) Bowen Collegiate Institute was opened in Hopkinton in 1859 with 64 students. In 1865 the name was changed to Lenox Collegiate Institute; in 1864, to Lenox College. In 1946 the college was forced to close. This book is a brief history of a school which played its part in Iowa educational development from pioneer days to the present.

A. U. Coates, a prohibition leader and candidate for governor of Iowa in 1901, contributes "An Autobiographer's Life in Iowa," to the January, 1950, issue of the *Annals of Iowa*. Other articles in the same issue are: "The Cosson Laws," by Senator George Cosson; "The Des Moines Negro and His Contribution to American Life," by Lawrence C. Howard; and "The State University of Iowa and the Civil War," by Harrison John Thornton.

"A Handbook for Iowa Councilmen," by Russell M. Ross of the State University of Iowa and Max A. Conrad of the League of Iowa Municipalities, has been published by the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Iowa.

The January, 1950, issue of *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* contains a document, "From Illinois to Montana in 1866: The Diary of Perry A. Burgess," edited by Robert G. Athearn. Part of the diary recounts the crossing of Iowa from Sabula in Jackson County to the Missouri River in Mills County, across from Plattsmouth, Nebraska.

"The Legacy of Populism in the Western Middle West," by John D. Hicks is published in the October, 1949, issue of *Agricultural History*. Albert B. Cummins' role in the Progressive movement, the heir of Populism, is discussed in this article.

Loren C. Talbot, "city editor emeritus" of the Indianola *Record-Herald* and *Tribune*, has published a history of the Talbot family, of which there are many members in Warren County. Mr. Talbot can trace his family back to the days of William the Conqueror. Among the descendants of the Talbots who came to America before the American Revolution are the McGees, the Proudfoots, the Van Scoys, the Stickels, and others of Warren County.

William T. Coe has published *The Coe Family*, a short account of his family's history in Johnson County.

Articles

The December, 1949, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains an article by Allan Nevins, "Stephen A. Douglas: His Weaknesses and His Greatness," which Carl Sandburg called the "best life of Douglas" he had heard, when Dr. Nevins read the paper at the Sponsors' Dinner of the Illinois State Historical Society in October. Other articles in the issue are: "Slavery and Negro Servitude in Pope County, Illinois," by John W. Allen; and "Keen & Cooke: Prairie Publishers," by Madeleine B. Stern.

The September, 1949, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following articles: "The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in American Diplomatic History, 1686–1890," by Richard W. Van Alstyne; "The California Progressive and His Rationale: A Study in Middle Class Politics," by George E. Mowry, and "Behind the Legend of Colter's Hell: The Early Exploration of Yellowstone National Park," by Merrill J. Mattes. The December, 1949, issue of the *Review* contains: "Abolitionism and the Presbyterian Schism of 1837-1838," by C. Bruce Staiger; "Lincoln's Gadfly — Adam Gurowski," by LeRoy H. Fischer; "Minnesota Public Opinion and the Secession Controversy, December, 1860–April, 1861," by Roman J. Zorn; "The Hudson's Bay Land Controversy, 1863–1869," by John S. Galbraith; and "The Western Farmer in Imaginative Literature," by Henry Nash Smith.

The October, 1949, issue of *The American Historical Review* contains the following articles on American history: "Andrew Jackson, Strike-breaker," by Richard B. Morris (Jackson's intervention in a strike on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal project in 1834); and "Carl Becker on Progress and Power," by Leo Gershoy, which is Dr. Gershoy's introduction to the new edition of Becker's *Progress and Power*.

The development of historical research and the teaching of history is discussed in "The Heroic Age of the Social Sciences," by Robert S. Fletcher (*Indiana Magazine of History*, September, 1949). The growth of the seminar and the increasing use of source materials in the search for the truth of history had its impetus from American scholars who had studied in German universities in the decades following the Civil War. It was from this source that the study of history became an independent discipline instead of an adjunct to the earlier courses in the classics, ethics, and "moral philosophy."

In the Autumn, 1949, issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Gaston Litton, Archivist of the University of Oklahoma, makes a plea for the preservation of local documents in an article entitled "Good Homes and Newer Uses for Old Records." Dr. Litton points out the importance and value to the historian of old diaries and journals, old letters, records of businesses — both large and small — and the need for the preservation and proper housing of such records.

Charles McCarthy of Wisconsin was, during his undergraduate days at Brown University, a student of J. Franklin Jameson. Letters which he wrote to Dr. Jameson during his graduate work at the University of Wisconsin and his work in organizing the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau, the first in the United States, are edited by Elizabeth Donnan and L. F. Stock, and published in the September, 1949, issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*.

The September, 1949, issue of *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains an article of interest to state and local historians: "Unique Elements in State History," by Richard P. McCormick. The author points out the need for more study of those phases of state history which are peculiar to the states, instead of the study of state history as "national history in minia-

ture." He urges more work on the unique elements in political, administrative, economic, social, and cultural history of the several states.

A Gold Rush diary of particular interest to Iowans appears in the November, 1949, issue of *Pacific Historical Review*. Alexander Ramsay, who later became a resident of Albia, Iowa, traveled westward in 1849, on the great migration to the gold fields of California. He kept a diary of his trip which has been edited by Merrill J. Mattes: "Alexander Ramsay's Gold Rush Diary of 1849." The diary starts with his departure from Park County, Indiana, on March 21, 1849, and closes on October 14, after his arrival in California and his early experiences in the gold fields.

The activities of the agricultural development departments of the major railroads is a subject which has been neglected. "A Survey of the Agricultural Development Program of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad," by C. Clyde Jones (*Nebraska History*, September, 1949), is a preliminary study of this subject.

The song, "Home on the Range," which received renewed popularity from the fact that President Franklin D. Roosevelt called it his favorite, has recently been adopted as the official state song of Kansas. In the November, 1949, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Kirke Mechem discusses the history of the words and music of "Home on the Range." The words were written by Dr. Brewster Higley and appeared in print in the February 26, 1876, issue of the *Kirwin Chief* of Kirwin, Kansas, while the music was composed by another Kansan, Daniel E. Kelley. The article examines the various claims made recently for the authorship of both words and music, claims which this article now shows to be spurious.

In the September, 1949, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Helen Nicolay, daughter of John C. Nicolay, Lincoln's secretary and biographer, discusses her father's association with Lincoln in an article entitled "The Writing of *Abraham Lincoln: A History*." In the same issue of the *Journal* Charles E. Peterson continues his "Notes on Old Cahokia" and Mentor L. Williams contributes, in "A Tour of Illinois, 1842," excerpts from James Kirke Paulding's account of early Illinois.

"Interurban Projects In and Around Omaha," is another study by E. Bryant Phillips of a subject which has received relatively little attention in

transportation history. This article appears in the September, 1949, issue of *Nebraska History*.

A colorful bit of railroad history is "Passenger Trains of Yesteryear on the Minneapolis & St. Louis," by Frank P. Donovan, Jr., in the September, 1949, issue of *Minnesota History*.

Two articles of interest in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (September, 1949) are "The Milwaukee Cement Company," by Howard Greene and William T. Berthelet, and "Enactment of the Potter Law," by Robert T. Daland. The former article relates the story of the Milwaukee Cement Company from its founding in the 1870's until the suspension of manufacturing in 1911. Mr. Daland's account of the passage of Wisconsin's famous Potter law in 1874 gives a useful account of the state's efforts at railroad regulation during the Granger period.

Lloyd P. Jorgenson contributes an article on "The Origins of Public Education in Wisconsin," in the September, 1949, issue of *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, in which he traces the educational legislation of Wisconsin through the territorial and early state period. His survey shows that the "free school movement was not the work of any one man or group of men," but rather was a "response to . . . local demands."

The *Missouri Historical Review* (October, 1949) contains the following articles: "William Hirth and the Missouri Farmers' Association," by Theodore Saloutos; "Gottfried Duden Views Missouri, 1824–1827, Part II," by Alice H. Finckh; and "The Pioneer Physician in Missouri, 1820–1850," by Roland L. Lanser.

"Max Weber as Historian of Agriculture and Rural Life," by Paul Honigsheim in the July, 1949, issue of *Agriculutral History*, is a study of the ideas of an outstanding German sociologist and economist on the historical development of agriculture and rural life. Other articles in this issue are: "The Hog Drivers' Play-Song and Some of Its Relatives," by Edmund Cody Burnett; "Saving the Kerf: The Introduction of the Band Saw Mill," by Rodney C. Loehr; and "Land Frauds and Illegal Fencing in Western Nebraska," by Arthur R. Reynolds.

The presidential address of Conyers Read of the American Historical Association, "The Social Responsibilities of the Historian," is published in the

January, 1950, issue of *The American Historical Review*. Also included in the issue is an article by Paul F. Sharp of Iowa State College, "When Our West Moved North."

Bernard C. Borning of the University of Idaho is preparing a book on "The Political Ideas of Charles A. Beard." A chapter from this book, "The Political Philosophy of Young Charles A. Beard," is published in the December, 1949, issue of *The American Political Science Review*.

Articles of general interest in the February, 1950, issue of *Pacific Historical Review* are: "The Background and Early Career of Hiram Warren Johnson, 1866-1910," by Irving McKee; "Joaquin Miller: Sedition and Civil War," by John Raine Dunbar; and "The American Party, 1886-1891," by John Higham.

The *Missouri Historical Review* (January, 1950) contains two articles on local history: "History and Folklore," by Philip D. Jordan of the University of Minnesota; and "The Significance of State and Local History," by Clifford L. Lord of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Number X of Robert Taft's "The Pictorial Record of the Old West," covers the work of Henry F. Farny, one of the western artists of Indian life, in the February, 1950, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. An article on the educational history of Kansas is "Lincoln College, Forerunner of Washburn Municipal University: Part One," by Russell K. Hickman.

"Building the Burlington Through Nebraska — A Summary View," by Thomas M. Davis is another contribution to railroad history, published in the December, 1949, issue of *Nebraska History*. Military life on the frontier is discussed by Edgar Bruce Wesley in "Life at Fort Atkinson," in the same issue.

Harrison John Thornton, professor of history at the State University of Iowa, published an article, "Chautauqua and the Midwest," in the December, 1949, issue of *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Other articles are: "Appleton," by William F. Raney; "When the Railroads Came to Kenosha," by Carrie Cropley; and two documents, "Letters of James Stark, 1841-1842," edited by Georgia Dow Townsend, and "Wisconsin in 1847: Notes of John Q. Roods," edited by Earl S. Pomeroy.

"The Legal Aspects of Slavery in Missouri, Parts I and II," by Emil Oberholzer, is published in the January, 1950, issue of the *Bulletin* of the Missouri Historical Society.

The January, 1950, issue of *Agricultural History* contains an interesting article on "Agriculture in Luce County, Michigan, 1880 to 1930," by George F. Deasy. Another article in the same issue is "The Impact of Farm Machinery on the Farm Economy," by A. N. Johnson.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* (December, 1949) contains the following articles: "From Country Town to Industrial City: The Urban Pattern in Indianapolis," by Frederick D. Kershner, Jr.; "Lathrop M. Taylor, the Fur Trader," by Bert Anson; "A History of Social Welfare in Indiana," by Otto F. Walls; "A History of Publishing in Montgomery County, Indiana, 1831-1904," by Herman Fred Shermer; and a document, "Latin Farmers in Indiana," translated and edited by Leonard Koester.

Newspapers

Mrs. W. G. Smith, in the September 13, 1949, issue of the Algona *Advance*, and the September 7 issue of the Mason City *Globe-Gazette*, makes a plea for the marking of the site of Fort Schuyler, originally built in the 1860's in the northeast corner of Emmet County as a defense against the Sioux Indians. Before his death, Harvey Ingham of the Des Moines *Register* was active in furthering a project for the proper marking of the site, but World War II intervened and the plans were dropped. Mrs. Smith's article tells the story of the fort, and urges that its site be properly marked. The fort was named for Schuyler Ingham, father of Harvey Ingham.

"The first bridge across the Cedar River in Waverly was built by popular subscription in 1857." Millard H. Curtis of Waverly has written a short history of the bridge which was published in the September 16, 1949, issue of the Waverly *Democrat*.

A brief biographical sketch of John Wells Traer, written by his nephew, J. W. Traer, appears in the Traer *Star Clipper* for September 16, 1949. Traer was active in the 1870's in the promotion of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Northern Railroad, now a part of the Rock Island system, and the town of Traer, founded in 1873, was named after him. In the September 30

issue of the *Star Clipper* additional stories of John Wells Traer are reprinted from the 50th anniversary issue of the paper in 1928.

The Denison *Review* for September 20, 1949, and the Nevada *Journal* of the same date, have an article on the invention of the first corn picker in 1885 by Patrick J. Lawler. Patent for the picker was issued by the United States Patent Office April 15, 1890, to Patrick J. Lawler and John F. Berry. The papers and a model of the corn picker are now in the Iowa Department of History and Archives at Des Moines.

Herb Owens in his "Along the Way" column in the Des Moines *Tribune* for September 21, 1949, describes the valuable exhibit of historical relics on display by the Tama County Historical Society in the Tama County courthouse. Mr. Owens writes: "One fine thing about the exhibit is the considerate placing of typed, readable tags on almost every piece shown. Credit for the great share of work in the show is given here to Mrs. W. G. McMartin of Tama. Credit for the pieces themselves goes to hundreds of Tama county pioneers and their descendants."

The Anita *Tribune*, October 7, 1949, published a history of the newspapers of Anita, in observance of "National Newspaper Week." Anita's first newspaper, *The Times*, was established in 1877.

The first newspaper in Chariton was called *The Little Giant* in honor of Stephen A. Douglas. The history of this and other Chariton newspapers appears in the October 6, 1949, issue of the Chariton *Herald Patriot*.

The Denison *Bulletin*, which first appeared in 1873 as the *Crawford County Bulletin*, published a history of the paper in its issue of October 7, 1949.

A series of articles on the history of the Lake Mills school system has been published in the Lake Mills *Graphic*, the last number of which appeared in the November 23, 1949, issue. The articles were written by August Luther, former superintendent of schools at Scarville.

A history of the McGregor fire department, written by Lena D. Myers, appears in the November issues of the McGregor *Times*. In the November 24, 1949, issue the author recounts the story of a home talent show given for the purpose of raising money for "purchasing fire extinguishing apparatus."

The history of the Chicago, Anamosa and Northern Railroad, known as the CAN road, is told in the January 1, 1950, issue of the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*. This road, begun in 1903 on a capitalization of $150,000, operated until 1915 when it was abandoned.

A brief history of Clarinda State Hospital is told by A. J. Robins, in the January 5, 1950, issue of the Clarinda *Herald Journal*. The main building of the hospital is now 61 years old.

The February 2, 1950, issue of the Algona *Advance* contained an editorial urging the formation of a county historical society in Kossuth County to preserve historical records. A similar suggestion was made in the February 8, 1950, issue of the Belle Plaine *Union*, proposing the formation of a historical society for the Big Four district of Benton, Tama, Iowa, and Poweshiek counties.

The dedication of a new Bethel Mennonite church near Wayland on January 29, 1950, was the occasion for the compiling of a history of the Mennonites in Iowa. Highlights from this history are published in the Washington *Journal* of February 4, 1950.

According to a story in the February 13, 1950, issue of the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, the trustees of the Grenville M. Dodge estate are looking for some organization to take over the care and administration of the Dodge home in Council Bluffs. Built in 1869, the house contains fourteen rooms and seven fireplaces. Many famous Americans, including at least five presidents, were entertained there during Dodge's lifetime. If some responsible organization cannot be found to take over the preservation of the home as an historical memorial, it will be necessary to sell the furniture and put the house up for sale. The story in the *Nonpareil* is illustrated with views of the interior of the lavishly furnished home of Iowa's famous railroad builder and Civil War general.

Walther F. Carstens writes a brief account of the churches of Lisbon and Mount Vernon in the February 19, 1950, issue of the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*.

The superintendent of schools in Marshalltown, J. C. Hoglan, is anxious to have a book on Marshalltown history and government prepared for use in the course in local history given in the sixth grade at the Marshalltown schools. The story of this project is given in the February 23, 1950, issue of the Marshalltown *Times-Republican*.

Church histories published in Iowa newspapers recently are as follows:

Marion *Sentinel*, October 20, 1949 — Methodist Church, Marion, founded in 1840.

Marion *Sentinel*, October 6, 1949 — Presbyterian Church, Marion, founded in 1842.

Mount Pleasant *News*, October 25, 1949 — Methodist Church, Winfield, founded 1849.

Russell *Union Tribune*, October 6, 1949 — Methodist Church, Russell, founded 1849.

Mt. Vernon *Record*, September 8, 1949 — St. John's Church, Lisbon, founded 1859.

Nevada *Journal*, September 16, 1949 — Bergen Lutheran Church, Roland, built 1874.

Nevada *Journal*, October 7, 1949 — Christian Church, Nevada, founded 1894.

Buffalo Center *Tribune*, November 3, 1949 — Immanuel Lutheran Church, Titonka, founded 1899.

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COVER

Airview of Des Moines in 1949. Photo, courtesy Des Moines *Register*.

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THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF DES MOINES

By Howard J. Nelson

Des Moines in 1950 is a city of functional diversity, occupying a four-leaf-clover shaped built-up area of some thirty square miles, located near the center of agriculturally rich Iowa. It is the retail, wholesale, financial, social, and transportation center of Iowa, the political capital and the second largest manufacturing city in the state. On the national scene, Des Moines has prominence in insurance and publishing. This variety of activities combines to provide a stable if unspectacular livelihood for the city's 175,000 people.

Site and Situation, 1843

Des Moines began as a temporary military post, established at this particular location to deal with a transitory local situation. The contemporary circumstances indicating a need for a fort in this area and the judgments affecting the selection of the site are items of importance in understanding the development of the modern city with its present economic activities and land use pattern on this particular spot.

The title to the land now Iowa was secured for the United States in 1803. It took the form of a treaty with Napoleon, commonly known as the Louisiana Purchase. However, the prior claim of the Indians remained a subject of negotiation. Agreements among the Indian tribes, together with treaties between the United States government and the Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, Iowa, Winnebago, and Sioux Indians, opened all of the area now Iowa to settlement.[1] The Indians vacated these areas one by one as the treaty dates expired. White settlement followed close behind.

The establishment of Fort Des Moines was an outgrowth of this measured Indian withdrawal and complementary white settlement. In 1842 a large cession was made by the Sauk and Fox Indians. The area consisted of what is now central Iowa, including the site of the present city of Des Moines. The eastern half of the area was to be open to white settlement in

[1] "The Acquisition of Iowa Lands from the Indians," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 7:283–90 (January, 1906). Map.

1843, the western half in 1845.[2] As part of the agreement, the government was to prevent premature entry of whites into both parts of the territory as well as to protect the relatively peaceful Sauk and Fox Indians from the more warlike Sioux who lived farther north. A temporary military post at some strategically located point in the area seemed to be required. It was this combination of historical coincidences that led to the founding of a city in this area.

After the necessity for the establishment of a fort in the area had been recognized, the selection of a suitable site was assigned to Captain James Allen of the First Dragoons who were stationed lower down the river at Fort Sanford. He reconnoitered the area and by November, 1842, had chosen the point immediately above the junction of the Raccoon and the Des Moines rivers, where a company of United States Dragoons had camped as early as 1835.[3] He explained the situation factors involved:

> My reasons for selecting that point are these: The soil is rich; and wood, stone, water and grass are all at hand. It will be high enough up the river to protect these Indians against the Sioux, and is in the heart of the best part of their new country, where the greatest efforts will be made by the squatters to get in. It is about equidistant from the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, and offers a good route to both. . . . It will be 25 miles within the new line, about the right distance from the settlements, and above all of the Indian villages and trading houses. . . . It will also be about the head of keel-boat navigation of the Des Moines. I think it better than any point farther up, because it will be harder to get supplies higher up. . . .[4]

Captain Allen's appraisal of the assets of the site was accurate and to a considerable degree forecast the advantages underlying the early development of Des Moines.

Military Post, 1843–1846

Des Moines existed for its first three years as a military post in an area from which all white settlers were excluded. Even in this brief time and

[2] *Ibid.*, 283–90.

[3] Johnson Brigham, *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1911), 1:20, 26. For the 1835 occupation, see Albert M. Lea, *Notes on Wisconsin Territory* . . . (Philadelphia, 1836), 35.

[4] Letter to War Department, dated Fort Sanford, Iowa, Dec. 30, 1842, reproduced in "Fort Des Moines, No. 2," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 4:164 (October, 1899).

under these unusual conditions actions were taken and attitudes formed that had an influence on the form and function of the future city. Major events of this era were the construction of buildings, the beginnings of roads leading toward the Fort, and the establishment of business organizations.

The beginning patterns of the city were visible in May of 1843. In that month Captain Allen and about 140 soldiers erected two rows of substantial one-story log structures. The officers' quarters were located near the Des Moines River and faced west on a street running generally north and south parallel to the river, now Second Street. A second line of barracks was extended in a line running along the Raccoon River, called "Coon Row," at about the location of the present Elm Street.[5] These buildings seem to have laid the framework for the early street pattern, a pattern that has by successive stages been retained in the area to the present day. Another event, the beginning of a military road to connect with Ottumwa, Keokuk, and the Mississippi, was later of major importance to the growth of the new city.[6]

Though the vast majority of the men in the Fort were military men, the nascent pattern of the present employment distribution may be discerned by the occupations of the few civilians present. Trade was represented by three merchants: two authorized Indian traders, and a third who supplied the soldiers of the Fort but could not trade with the Indians. In addition, a sawmill, which also soon was used for cracking corn and wheat, was founded by Captain Allen and J. D. Parmalee. An Indian agent and his interpreter might be representative of the civil governmental occupations. The forerunner of Des Moines' professional men existed in the person of Dr. Thomas K. Brooks, who came to practice medicine; the services, by a tailor and a blacksmith. The construction industry was represented by Thomas Mitchell and Peter Newcomer who had bridged Four Mile and Camp creeks respectively, in return for permission to settle. Four farmers contracted to furnish grain and other products for the garrison.[7]

After October, 1845, following an uneventful existence of two years, the

[5] There is no agreement as to the exact position of the first two rows of barracks built at Fort Des Moines. See Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:47, and map facing 98. Also see "Fort Des Moines, No. 2," map facing 161.

[6] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:48.

[7] H. B. Turrill, *Historical Reminiscences of the City of Des Moines . . .* (Des Moines, 1857), 12; N. Sanford, *Early Sketches of Polk County* (Newton, 1874), 10; "Fort Des Moines, No. 2," 170.

raison d'etre for the Fort no longer existed. At this time, in accord with previous treaty arrangements, the surrounding territory was vacated by the Indians and opened to settlement by the whites. Some of the soldiers left in the fall of that year, the rest by March 10, 1846.[8]

Frontier Town, 1846–1856

The period between the abandonment of Fort Des Moines by the soldiers in 1846 and the selection of the town as a site for the state capital were "years of decision" in the development of Des Moines. Events in this ten-year period largely determined whether a settlement would flourish or falter on this site. The existence of substantially built cabins, the road and river connections to eastern Iowa towns, and the prestige of a well-known name gave the site initial momentum. But without additional impetus other centers growing up elsewhere under different circumstances and with other attractions might well have assumed the functions that were eventually developed in Des Moines.

During this period further beginnings of the modern occupational structure were visible. Fort Des Moines became the seat of several governmental functions. Transportation routes focusing on Des Moines were improved and the city served a modest immigrant traffic, became the trading center for the surrounding area, and also developed some simple manufacturing industries. These activities combined to make Fort Des Moines at an early date the largest town in the middle Des Moines Valley. In addition, during this ten-year period, a pattern of land use was laid down that has done much to shape the modern city.

The early choice of Fort Des Moines as the county seat of Polk County, which was organized by the legislature on January 17, 1846, gave the town momentum at the very beginning of white settlement. Though Fort Des Moines had an advantage of some existent buildings, accessibility both by road and river, plus considerable prestige in the minds of the early settlers, its selection as a county seat was by no means certain. It seemed necessary, for example, through the instigation of interested individuals, to attach four townships to the southern border of Polk County from the territory that was afterwards Warren County, to give Fort Des Moines a more central location.[9] Even with this legislative accomplishment, five other "towns" in

[8] "Fort Des Moines, No. 2," 175-6.

[9] Frank Harman Garver, "Boundary History of the Counties of Iowa," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, 7:86–9 (January, 1909). After the location of the

Polk County were suggested and strongly supported by various individuals for the county seat: Polk City, Dudley, Brookline, Saylorville, and Churchville.[10]

An additional governmental function came with the establishment of a United States District Land Office in Des Moines. Though this came somewhat later, in January of 1853, and lasted for only three years, it was by its nature able to give a valuable boost to the new town. The rush for government land was just commencing, and the land embraced in this United States Land District was among the best in the state, including that in central, northern, and western Iowa. As a result, Des Moines became the center for the purchase and disposal of these lands, and many persons were attracted to the town by this activity. We are told that land agents and dealers in land warrants were thickly scattered along the business streets and that office room was in great demand. Extensive grants of lands were made in 1856 for the construction of railroads, and as this suspended to a great extent the further entry of these government lands, the great rush was over.[11]

The early focus of transportation routes on Fort Des Moines was an added stimulant to the city's growth. The Des Moines River and the wagon roads eastward to Oskaloosa and Iowa City were the main elements in this focus. Although none of these routes provided first-class transportation, all, to a considerable extent, channeled the flow of supplies, settlers, and immigrants through the city.

The Des Moines River could be used by shallow draft steamboats during times of high water, but it never proved very satisfactory as a dependable artery of commerce. For example, though a steamboat brought up the first group of soldiers to the fort site, a few weeks later the river was so low it was only after many groundings and with some of its load transferred to keelboats that the rest of the supplies could be transported.[12] After con-

county seat at Fort Des Moines, the former townships were returned in 1853 to the county from which they had been taken.

[10] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:60; also *History of Polk County, Iowa . . .* (Des Moines, 1880), 425–7.

[11] Will Porter, *Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and City of Des Moines* (Des Moines, 1898), 695–8.

[12] For an account of this trip by a member of the crew, see Tacitus Hussey, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River from 1837 to 1862," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 4:333–5 (April, 1900).

siderable agitation, Congress in 1846 granted to the state of Iowa, for the improvement of the Des Moines River, alternate sections of land in a strip ten miles wide extending along the river from the mouth to its source. It was proposed to install twenty-eight dams and nine additional locks, making the river navigable as far as the Raccoon Fork. However, by 1857, only three locks had been built; in all, only seven dams were completed and some work done on three more before the work was abandoned and the lands transferred to the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines and Minnesota Railroad Company (later renamed the Des Moines Valley Railroad Company) in 1858.[13]

Perhaps more important than the river in the growth of Des Moines were the wagon roads leading to the city. Captain Allen gave an initial impetus to road building by permitting two settlers to live in a restricted area, on the condition that they would bridge the two creeks east of the city. In the 1843-1844 session of the legislature, state support was given: a road was ordered to be built from Fairfield to Bennet's Point, Keokuk County, thence to Oskaloosa, from where it was to be extended "in the direction of . . . the Raccoon Fork of the Des Moines River." In 1845 the legislature also ordered the building of a road connecting Iowa City with Fort Des Moines.[14]

The latter road was useful not only in bringing supplies to the traders in the town, and in channeling settlers to the area, but also served to guide a considerable through traffic of immigrants through Fort Des Moines on their way west. By 1849, immigrants to California who traveled north of the Iowa River were advised to pass through Iowa City, Newton, and Fort Des Moines and from there to the Missouri. Before May 24, 1850, about 3,000 persons and 1,080 immigrant teams crossed the ferry at Des Moines. Many of the teams added to the demand for supplies at this "jumping off" place. The state road from Fort Des Moines to Council Bluffs "was one of the principal feeders for the wagon trail which began at the Bluffs."[15] As early

[13] Turrill, *Historical Reminiscences . . .*, 51; Jacob A. Swisher, "The Des Moines River Improvement Project," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, 35:147-8, 167 (April, 1937).

[14] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:48, 118, 668; also see map in Jacob Van der Zee, "The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, 3:183 (April, 1905); *Laws of Iowa, 1843*, Chap. 65; *1845*, Chap. 91.

[15] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:95, 99.

as 1850 Fort Des Moines had scheduled stagecoach transportation. Frink, Walker and Company operated a line of stages through Fort Des Moines running from Keokuk to Council Bluffs.[16] The territory surrounding Fort Des Moines was filling rapidly with settlers, and by 1850 the town seemed to have become something of a regional trading center. It was the nearest supply point for settlers living within eighty miles north and west of the city. There were no settlements between Fort Des Moines and Council Bluffs or Fort Dodge. Settlers typically came in the fall, to buy what groceries and dry goods they needed and "get trusted till spring and pay in hides, etc."[17]

In addition to trade and commerce, and the governmental activities mentioned above, some manufacturing was developing: the 1850 census listed forty-six hands employed in the city. The number of professional men was considerable. In writing of this year, Johnson Brigham quotes from an article in a local newspaper:

> The Star of January 25 informs "all the world and the rest of mankind that Fort Des Moines is fast becoming metropolitan, having in 1850, nine dry-goods stores, with assortments of clothing, groceries, hardware, etc.; one hardware store, two drug stores, two provision stores, one tinware manufactory, one bakery, two printing offices, two weekly newspapers, one gunsmith, three or four blacksmith shops, six or eight builders, six or eight plasterers, one barrel factory, several shoe shops, cabinet makers, painters, tailor shops, etc., two hotels — the Demoine House and the Marvin —the former a large and commodious building mostly erected the past season, and the latter being enlarged by the addition of a spacious building to be finished early in the coming spring." Among the town's other available assets were "seventeen or eighteen lawyers, seven or eight physicians and half that number of patients;" also "two prospective saw-mills." The Star concludes with the assurance that "one year more will make this [by] far the largest town in the State off the Mississippi."[18]

The population of Fort Des Moines itself grew from 127 in 1847 through 502 in 1850 to about 3,800 in 1856.[19] This rapid increase perhaps accu-

[16] *Ibid.*, 1:85.

[17] *Ibid.*, 1:63.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1:84.

[19] *Ibid.*, 1:58; *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Compendium*, 234; *Census Returns . . . Iowa . . . 1856*, 322.

rately reflects the attractive force of the early town and forecasts Des Moines' growth in the future.

The original town was laid out on the terrace at the site of the old fort. The survey was completed by June 8, 1846, and extended from Locust to Elm and from Water to Eighth Street.[20] This laid down the street pattern that still dominates the business area. The streets, as the barracks, were laid out parallel and at right angles to the Des Moines River, instead of following the cardinal points of the compass. Some lots were then sold at public auction in the summer of 1846 and the rest disposed of to private bidders later. An indication as to the "center" of town can be found in the fact that the lot on the southwest corner of Second and Market streets brought the highest price — $106.00.[21]

The first business district of Des Moines seems to have grown up among the barracks abandoned by the soldiers on Second Street south of Vine. Of the sixteen businessmen listed by Dixon as doing business in Fort Des Moines from 1846 to 1850, all are located there.[22] Porter says that during the years before 1855 the main business houses continued on Second Street. The post office and nearly all the stores, groceries, and law offices were on Second Street south of Court Avenue.[23]

In 1850 Court Avenue, surveyed to be the "main" street, seemed to be turning into a residential section. Three of the most prominent dwellings erected that year were at Court and Water, Third and Court, and on "the Avenue." At the same time, the hotels were the Marvin House on Third and Walnut and the Des Moines House at First and Walnut.[24] Thus during this period the residences do not seem to have been sharply separated from the business area.

Capital City, 1857–1866

The period 1857–1866 was one of continued growth. Important expan-

[20] This 160 acres of the government reservation, with all of the buildings of the fort, had been ceded to Polk County, January 17, 1846. Porter, *Annals of Polk County . . .*, 109.

[21] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, map, 1:50; Turrill, *Historical Reminiscenses . . .*, 22.

[22] J. M. Dixon, *Centennial History of Polk County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1876), 24–31.

[23] Porter, *Annals of Polk County . . .*, 173; also see Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:115.

[24] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:84, 89.

sions occurred in the city's economic activities: it became a military center, the railroads reached the city, and the previously established livelihoods such as commerce, light manufacturing, professional services, and government prospered. The population of the city increased from 3,500 to about 10,000, and the incorporated area was expanded from about one square mile to approximately eight square miles. After the first year, the city dropped "Fort" from its name and was known simply as Des Moines. However, perhaps the event that affected the town the most and that characterized the period was the location of the state capital there in 1857. This insured the permanent importance of a place that up to this time was a promising frontier town but whose future growth was somewhat speculative.

The extension of the western boundary of the state to the Missouri River,[25] plus the rapid settling of the Des Moines Valley, gave substance to the arguments of those who in the forties wanted to shift the state capital from Iowa City to some point in the Des Moines Valley.[26] If and when the shift was to be made and at what point the new capital should be located were subjects for lengthy and acrimonious debate for many years. Viewing the past from today's vantage-point, it seems reasonable that the capital would be located at about the position of Des Moines. Actually, the choice was far from inevitable: many factors were involved. It was a result of individual decisions made after considering numerous alternative possibilities.

After several false starts, including an abortive attempt to locate the capital at "Monroe City," where the commissioners appointed to select the site acquired large holdings, the legislature directed that a location within two miles of the junction of the Des Moines and Raccoon be selected. The votes to relocate the capital at this point came from the representatives of counties in or near the Des Moines Valley or its tributaries in southeastern Iowa, and in the counties west of Polk. Brigham explains the vote this way: "The social, commercial and political relations early established between Fort Des Moines and the river towns as far to the southeast as Keokuk, these strengthened by stage lines and the common interest in the prospective

[25] It has been charged that the establishment of the present boundaries of the state was part of an effort to put the "Raccoon Forks" near the future center of population. The whole question of relocating the capital is discussed in John E. Briggs, "The Removal of the Capital from Iowa City to Des Moines," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 14:56–95 (January, 1916).

[26] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:134.

line of railroad from Keokuk to Fort Des Moines, had much to do with the success of the movement."[27]

The locating commission visited both Fort Des Moines and East Des Moines in 1856. Groups representing both settlements offered land for the capitol site. Eventually a ten-acre plot on the east side of the river was selected. The site was described by Governor James W. Grimes as: "A gentle swell of land about three quarters of a mile east of Fort Des Moines, and on the east side of the river. It commands a good prospect and seems to be well adapted to the purpose for which it has been selected."[28] The west-siders were quite shocked, as the settlement on their side of the river was by far the larger, and the land offered by them more valuable. Will Porter attempts to explain the choice in this fashion:

> They [the east-siders] were pushing and energetic men, had a large number of lots at their disposal, and they shrewdly sought to and were successful in making many influential politicians and business men of the state personally and pecuniarily interested in the East Side property. . . . They had this advantage: Theirs was virtually a new enterprise and they had everything to gain. They were, therefore, more united than were the residents of the original town, and worked better together and were more liberal in the offer of inducement.[29]

On October 19, 1857, Governor Grimes issued a proclamation declaring that in his opinion a suitable building for the accommodation of the General Assembly had been provided and therefore declared the capital of the state of Iowa to be established at Des Moines.[30] From that time on, the city grew rapidly in both political and economic importance.

Des Moines assumed a military function in the later part of the Civil War period. It was the headquarters of the Fifth Congressional District for the enrollment and drafting of men and the taking of volunteers into military service. The district extended westward to the Missouri River and southwest to the state line. This brought a considerable number of people to Des Moines and gave the city further status as a regional center.[31]

Some significant changes in external transportation facilities occurred in

[27] Briggs, "Removal of the Capital . . .," 75–9; Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:145-6.
[28] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:142.
[29] Porter, *Annals of Polk County . . .*, 174-5.
[30] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:142.
[31] Porter, *Annals of Polk County . . .*, 208.

this period. As late as 1858 the river was still an important transportation artery during certain times of the year. For example, legislators living in the northeastern part of the state preferred to go by steamboat down the Des Moines River to Keokuk and up the Mississippi to their homes rather than travel across the state in a "mud wagon." Four years later, however, in 1862, navigation on the Des Moines River was virtually at a standstill. Two important factors in this situation were the approach of the railroads to within about forty-five miles, with stage connections to the city, and the demand for steamboats elsewhere during the Civil War.[32]

Telegraph lines, which reached Des Moines by 1862, were a great boost to the Des Moines newspaper industry. Formerly newspapers brought from Keokuk could present the news as fast as the Des Moines papers, whose dispatches probably came in the same mail. It had taken three to five days to send a letter to Keokuk, one of the state's important economic centers.[33]

Even in this early period, the distribution of persons in the various economic activities of Des Moines was beginning to assume the present form. This was true especially in the prospering commercial and manufacturing activities. In 1866 there were 149 retail dealers and 42 wholesale dealers licensed in the city. These groups included not only grocers, bakers, and druggists, but also 22 dry goods concerns, 6 furniture companies, 10 clothing establishments, 15 millinery and dressmaking stores, 8 hardware merchants, and 6 wagon dealers. These are, incidentally, the type of trading activities that are still important in Des Moines at the present time. Finance activities in this early period were represented by 3 banks, 4 insurance companies, 19 insurance agents, and 19 real estate brokers. For personal service and amusement there were 8 tailors, 10 hotels, 3 billiard parlors, 16 eating houses, and 20 saloons. Lawyers, doctors, dentists, architects, and surveyors were included among the professions.[34]

The same two kinds of manufacturing that are important in the city today, food processing and printing and publishing, were the leading activities of that type in Des Moines in this period. One hundred and thirty-

[32] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:160. After 1866 the river was no longer recognized by law as a navigable stream, across which a dam or bridge could not be built which would tend to obstruct free navigation. The law was repealed and the river was legally open to bridging by railroads. *Ibid.*, 1:105.

[33] *Ibid.*, 1:185.

[34] *Ibid.*, 1:244; and *Des Moines City Directory . . . 1866-7*, 149ff.

three "hands" earned their livelihood in manufacturing in 1860. The largest single group, 26, worked in newspaper and job printing establishments. Bookbinding, a related industry, employed 14 persons, including 6 women, the only women listed that year as employed in manufacturing plants.[35] Pork packing was stimulated by the Civil War, and for some years was important in Des Moines. In the season 1861-1862 some 10,000 hogs were packed. J. Tuttle and Son, a local grocer, erected a packing house in 1862. However, it was located in the business district and was considered a nuisance.[36]

The land use patterns of Des Moines began to take shape rapidly during the period from 1857 to 1866. The city was incorporated in 1857, formed out of the two earlier towns of Fort Des Moines and East Des Moines. The area was thus increased from the approximately one square mile of the "Fort," to about eight square miles. The city now took on a rectangular shape, two miles north and south and four miles east and west. The year previously, 1856, the streets and alleys on the east side had been re-platted to correspond with the Capitol grounds. For the first time Walnut and Locust streets were carried across the river; Grand Avenue, however, was still called Keokuk on the east side. A substantial bridge was built across the river at Court Avenue in 1858 and two years later the toll was removed for "foot-passengers residing in this county." A bridge at Walnut Street was completed in 1866.[37]

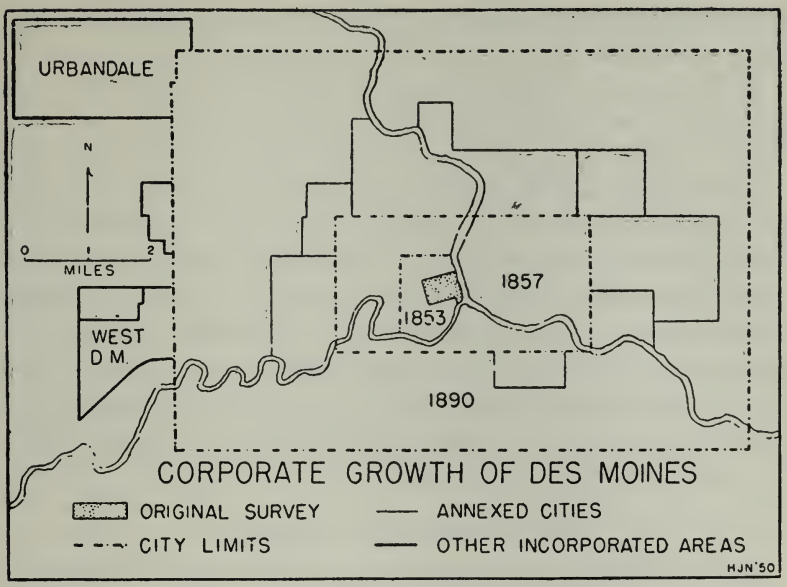
This "Capital" period saw some important shifts in the commercial center, as well as the beginning of a street railway system, an important reflection of location as well as a localizing factor in itself.

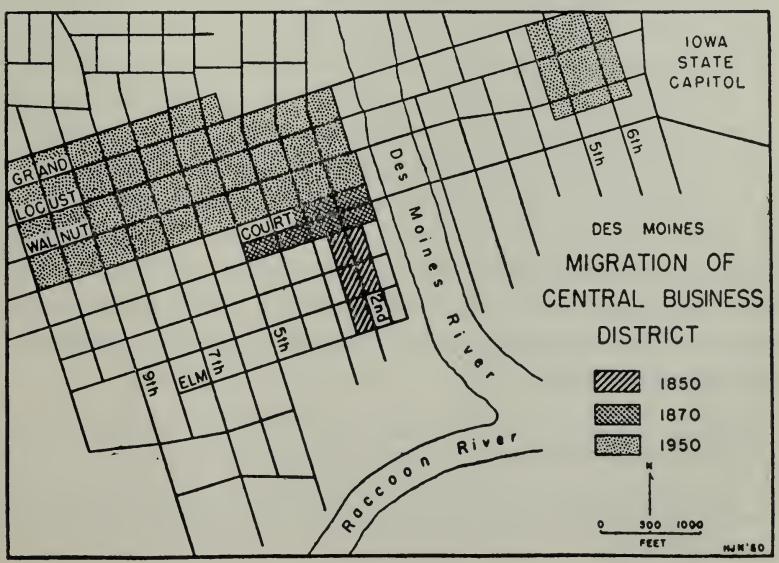
At the beginning of the period, though the largest portion of the business district was still on Second Street, a shift toward Court Avenue and especially Walnut Street seemed apparent. The Exchange Block, an office building at Third and Walnut (1855), the Savery Hotel at Walnut and Fourth (1856), and the Sherman Block at Court and Third were evidences of movement and in themselves attractions for further change. Of the seventy-one business and professional men who appear as sponsoring a map of "Desmoine" dated 1857 (at the beginning of this period) over one-half still had

[35] *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Manufactures*, 157.

[36] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:194; H. H. McCarty and C. W. Thompson, "Meat Packing in Iowa," *Iowa Studies in Business*, No. 12 (June, 1933), 36-7.

[37] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:147, 153, 166, 181, 244.


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LOCUST
WALNUT
COURT
2nd
5th
6th
Des Moines River
9th
ELM
7th
5th
Raccoon River
DES MOINES
MIGRATION OF
CENTRAL BUSINESS
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1850
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addresses on Second Street, about a quarter on Walnut, an eighth on Court, and a few on Third Street, at the end of the period in 1866.[38]

The 1860's saw increasing development along Court Avenue. L. F. Andrews tells us that Court Avenue and Second Street from the Avenue to the "Coon" were the principal business streets of that era. Trade no doubt was stimulated on both Court and Walnut by the establishment of a street railway system in 1866. The street railway originally ran on Court Street from the Court House to Capitol Hill. The next year it was extended up an alley between East Seventh and Eighth to Walnut, then west on Walnut to West Fifth to a terminal in front of the Court House.[39] The layout of this line seems to have been well planned. It not only connected the Court House with the Capitol along the widest and one of the busiest streets in the city, but also gave service along Walnut Street, a much longer thoroughfare, rapidly growing in importance.

Modern Metropolis, 1866–1949

The arrival of the railroads in Des Moines in 1866 and 1867 added the last major element necessary to facilitate the development of the city into a modern metropolis. The increased accessibility provided by these railroads greatly strengthened Des Moines' position as a trading and commercial center and made possible the development of manufacturing in the city on its present scale. Service activities also grew with the city. The early years of this period marked the migration of the business center to its present position, the localization of many of the present-day manufacturing areas, and the movement of the high-class residential homes off the terrace into the bluffs. In 1890 the city limits were expanded to their present location, and eight neighboring incorporated towns became part of Des Moines. The population of the city increased from about 10,000 to over 175,000. By 1880 the city was the largest in the state, a position which has not since been challenged. Thus, in the early part of the modern period, the economic activities and land use pattern of Des Moines took on substantially the same outline as exists today.

[38] *Map of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa.* "Compiled from county records and other reliable documents . . .," Des Moines, 1857.

[39] L. F. Andrews, newspaper article, dated 1913, no publisher, on file under "Des Moines," at the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Historical Building, Des Moines, Iowa.

Iowa lies astride the great middle or overland route across the United States between the East and the Far West. As numerous rail lines pushed their way westward through Iowa in the 1850's and 1860's, the absence of strong localizing forces gave the roads considerable choice as to their exact route. However, it seemed quite certain that the state capital and largest "interior" city would find itself on one or more of these east-west lines.

Nevertheless, it was not by means of an east-west line that Des Moines first made contact with the nation's railway net. The Des Moines Valley Railroad, the city's first, reached the capital in 1866. This road, following the river that had been an earlier transportation route, connected Des Moines with Keokuk — a city intimately associated with Des Moines since its founding through river and road connections. The rail line had been ten years in the building, with the railhead drawing slowly nearer Des Moines. It reached Ottumwa in 1859 and Eddyville, a few miles north of that town, two years later. This was the terminus for several Civil War years until, in 1864, Pella was reached and Des Moines two years following. Connections with the East could now be made via the Burlington at Ottumwa.[40]

The route followed by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, which reached Des Moines in the following year, was more in harmony with the present transportation pattern than the Des Moines Valley artery. This put Des Moines on a transcontinental route and, when completed to Council Bluffs two years later, gave Des Moines direct connections with Chicago and San Francisco. This road, then known as the Mississippi and Missouri, had been completed as far as Iowa City as early as 1856, and only reached Grinnell by 1863. During the Civil War construction slowed down and a stage route made the trip from the head of the railroad to Des Moines. In 1867 the road was still thirty miles from Des Moines, but arrived in the city the next year.[41]

Extensive railroad building was carried on during the next twenty years, connecting much of Iowa with Des Moines. By 1870 there were two railroads running trains in four directions out of the city. Nine years later five lines were in actual operation and two more practically built. In 1885 fourteen railroads entered the city. Soon afterwards an era of consolidation set

[40] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:243; Harrison L. Waterman, *History of Wapello County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914), 1:161-2.

[41] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:251, 256; F. J. Nevins, "Seventy Years of Service," *Rock Island Magazine*, 17:23 (October, 1922).

in, and a quarter of a century later there were but eleven roads operating into the city.[42]

Today, although nine railroads operate into the city, only the Rock Island, the first road of importance to reach Des Moines, can be considered a main line route giving first-class passenger service. The most important railroad in the state misses the state's most important city. The North Western-Union Pacific route, which has developed into the major east-west railroad link in the nation, passes about thirty miles north of Des Moines.

In addition to the coming of the railroads, one of the most important features of the period of the modern metropolis has been the growth in Des Moines of commercial activities: retail, wholesale, and financial. Steadily improving accessibility to all of Iowa, first by rail and later by highway, the gradual increase of the surrounding region in population and wealth, the lack of major near-by competing urban areas, together with the trend of modern life toward commercialism, go far to account for this growth.

Wholesaling, always important in Des Moines, assumed new importance early in this period. The "runner" type of wholesaling, rather than the "central mart" type, characterized this developing industry. Hardware, paper, drugs, and groceries, all employing "runners," that is, traveling salesmen, to visit retailers, and handling a standardized product, dominated the wholesale scene. Jobbers of goods where merchants visit a "central mart" and compare style and price have generally been unimportant in Des Moines.

The number of commercial travelers or "runners" operating out of Des Moines increased steadily from 416 in 1890 to a high of about 1,300 in 1920.[43] One hundred and three trains a day (including interurbans) enabled these salesmen and their samples to reach all parts of Iowa and still maintain homes in Des Moines.[44] The slight decline in the later part of the period can perhaps be understood in terms of the development of highways in Iowa affecting the relative importance of Des Moines' railroad supremacy and the growth of the city as a retail center.

By 1881 some of the names still famous among Des Moines' wholesalers

[42] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:265, 286, 605–610; *Resources and Industries of Des Moines and Polk County*, Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Trade (Des Moines, 1885).

[43] *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Population*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 662, and following decennial census.

[44] *Des Moines, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1893), 17.

begin to appear: L. H. Kurtz, hardware; Rollin and Langdon, paper; Tone Brothers, spices; and Charles Hewett, groceries.[45] It is significant that all four of these are of the "runner" type. Two years later a manufacturers' and jobbers' association was organized and was active in attempting to extend the reputation and territory of the city as a trade center.[46]

Today Des Moines is the wholesale center of Iowa. The city has numerous local outlets, good transportation facilities, and a location at a considerable distance from other large cities — prerequisites to a large wholesale trade. In 1947 Des Moines' wholesalers handled about 18.5 per cent of the wholesale business in the state. Compared to Des Moines' 7.2 per cent of the population, and an estimated 10.5 per cent of the total retail sales in the state, the importance of the city as a regional wholesale center is evident.[47] Handlers of such things as automobiles, groceries, machinery, and electrical goods were especially prominent.

The period of the modern metropolis witnessed the rise of Des Moines as a retail center as well as a wholesale town. Names familiar to the retail shopper of today, Younkers, the Utica, Frankels, and Plumbs, appeared as retail merchants within ten years of the opening of this period. A few years later, 1890, when Harris-Emery Company (now part of Younkers) moved to a Walnut Street location, it was said the retail life of the city entered a new era and that the best trade need no longer go to Chicago but had ample inducement at home.[48]

Des Moines has remained a center for the purchase of high quality style goods to the present day. Stores selling "shoppers goods," merchandise usually bought only after style and price comparison, feature the city's retail activity. The numerous large stores, with extensive selections of goods possible only in a city of some size, give Des Moines a relative competitive advantage in this type of retailing. The most prominent example is Younkers, the largest department store in the city, and probably in the state of Iowa as well. In 1947 this store was the largest single employer of labor of any establishment in Des Moines.

Associated almost entirely with the period of the modern metropolis has been the growth of Des Moines to national prominence as an insurance

[45] J. P. Bushnell, *First Annual Report of the Board of Trade* (Des Moines, 1881).
[46] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:302.
[47] *Sales Management*, 60:10.
[48] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:317.

center. Though two companies were organized the year before the period began, all the rest have developed since 1866. By 1900 the number had risen to twenty-five and ten years later to forty-four. Today there are forty insurance companies: ten life, fifteen casualty, nine fire, and several miscellaneous types. In 1947 Des Moines ranked eleventh of all cities regardless of size in point of premiums received by insurance companies.[49]

The two largest and best known insurance organizations are the Bankers Life Company and the Equitable Life Insurance Company of Iowa. Both these companies were products of Des Moines men and local money, and both have long and distinguished histories.

The Equitable Life Insurance Company of Iowa was founded in 1867 by Frederick Hubbell. He was an early Des Moines banker who disliked seeing the scarce money of the period going east for insurance premiums or any other reason. Today the company ranks thirty-fourth in size in the nation, employs approximately 500 persons, and has over $900,000,000 of insurance in force.[50]

The Bankers Life Company began in 1879 as a death benefit organization or an assessment life insurance company with membership limited exclusively to bankers. Though this idea came from E. A. Temple, a banker at Chariton, the company was organized and had its headquarters in Des Moines. With the rise to power of Henry S. Nollen in 1911, the organization was changed to a legal reserve life insurance company. In 1947 the company ranked twenty-fourth in the total of life insurance in force, about $1,300,000,000, among the more than three hundred legal reserve life insurance companies operating in the United States.[51] It is the largest insurance company in Iowa and in all the area west of the Mississippi. In 1947 it had an average of about 500 employees.

The men who founded and managed these companies contributed much to their initial success. In addition, in the early period of the companies' history, much of their money was invested in Iowa farm land. This period coincided with an era of rising land values, and hence these loans were very successful. The prosperity of the early companies may have attracted oth-

[49] *Ibid.*, 1:517; "Home Insurance Totals," *The National Underwriter*, 52:1 (1948). In a similar study in 1945, Des Moines was in thirteenth place.

[50] Personal interview with Mr. Francis Capper, Equitable Life Insurance Company of Iowa.

[51] *Bankers Life Company* (Des Moines, 1940).

ers. Today insurance companies find many things about the city that are favorable. Des Moines' population is large enough to furnish an adequate number of workers, but land, buildings, maintenance, and wage costs are not so high as in a large city. Through the years the people have come to understand the advantages of working for insurance companies — many are children of "white collar" parents. Some executives can be attracted to the city because of its relatively small size. The location of the city, in the center of the country, makes it equally convenient to both coasts, so that branch offices are not necessary, yet it is close enough to New York to get next day mail service to that city.[52]

In contrast to the moderate expansion of commercial activities in Des Moines, one of the striking trends of the modern metropolis era has been the slight relative decline of manufacturing employment. From 1890 on, when comparable data is available, a steady decline from about 28 per cent to about 17 per cent in 1940 is indicated. In 1948 it was estimated that 22 per cent of the employed persons were in manufacturing. In the decade of the sixties, however, at the beginning of this period, in response to increased demand during the Civil War, and the new accessibility with the coming of the railroads, the number of hands employed in manufacturing increased sixfold between 1860 and 1870. This is the largest percentage increase ever reported for a ten-year period, although after only a moderate advance in the next decade, the 1880–1890 period saw a 200 per cent increase in industrial employees.[53]

Manufacturing in the modern metropolis may be meaningfully considered in four classes:

1. Local manufacturing, of the type widespread throughout American cities and towns, growing out of local services, usually to supply local needs.
2. Manufacturing of products finding a ready market among the surrounding Corn Belt farmers.
3. Manufacturing based on the processing of the agricultural raw materials produced in Iowa.

[52] Many of these ideas came from an interview with Mr. Gerald S. Nollen, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Bankers Life Company.

[53] *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Manufactures,* 157; *Ninth Census of the United States: 1870. Industry and Wealth,* 516. (Eighth and Ninth census give only county statistics.) *Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Statistics of Manufacturers,* 399; *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Manufacturing Industries,* Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 190–97.

4. Light manufacturing, using raw materials brought in from other areas, and marketing the products on a nation-wide scale.

The dominant class of manufacturing in Des Moines throughout the modern period has grown out of local services. Printing and publishing, bakery products and beverage industries, and the manufacture of construction materials in brick works, planing mills, and cement plants are particularly important in the development of these "local" industries.

Printing and publishing has been a major industry all during the modern period. In 1870 printing, book and newspaper, was the second industry in terms of employment, with ninety-six men. However, in terms of wages it was by far the most important, paying its employees more than the next largest group of industries combined. The printing and publishing industry moved into first place by all measures in the next decade, and has been the largest single industry down to the present time. Printing and publishing, important in all stages of the city's development, was stimulated by the need for job work by the growing insurance companies and other commercial enterprises.

Even more important to the development of printing and publishing was the growth of locally published farm journals and daily newspapers, tailored to fit the needs of the state's growing agricultural population. The Des Moines publishing business, which today perhaps ranks first in national prominence among the industries of the city, received its start and owes much of its present prominence to the desire and ability of the people living on the surrounding farms and in the small towns to keep informed on agricultural happenings and world-wide affairs. The first journal on the scene was the *Iowa Homestead*, followed by *Wallaces' Farmer* in 1896 and *Successful Farming* in 1902.[54] In 1903 the direct predecessor of the Des Moines *Register* and *Tribune* was organized.

Starting at the turn of the century as a publisher of a farm magazine, the Meredith Publishing Company today publishes a nationally known magazine, *Better Homes and Gardens*, in addition to the expanded *Successful Farming*. *Better Homes and Gardens*, a home service magazine, has a current circulation of about 3,350,000, the seventh largest distribution of all the magazines in the United States.[55] The circulation of this magazine

[54] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:561. See also, *The Palimpsest*, 11:229–65 (June, 1930).

[55] The first six are: *Reader's Digest*, *Life*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Saturday Eve-*

is nation-wide. Its density of distribution is generally in accord with the density of population, except for a somewhat larger circulation in California and a smaller circulation in the southeastern United States than the population of these areas would warrant.[56]

Successful Farming, a farm publication keyed to the high income farmers of the Corn Belt, has a circulation of about 1,250,000 concentrated in the North Central States. The company also publishes such miscellaneous books as the *Better Homes and Gardens Cook Book*, and *Baby Book*. The *Cook Book* has sold over 3,750,000 copies and ranks among the best sellers of all time. Some feel of the scope of the operations of this concern can be gained by the fact that thirty boxcars a month are required to supply paper for the company, and that advertising revenues for 1947 were about $14,500,000.[57] Over a thousand persons worked for this publishing concern in 1947.

The subscription list of *Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead*, a biweekly farm magazine, reflects the high income of the Iowa farmer. Of its current circulation of over 300,000 weekly, about two-thirds is in Iowa. Most of the rest is in adjoining states.[58]

Rapid delivery of a high quality metropolitan newspaper to a relatively prosperous, reading farm and small town population has formed the basis of success of the *Register* and *Tribune*. The nucleus of the present organization was formed in 1903 when Harvey Ingham and Gardner Cowles, Sr., took over the old *Register and Leader*. At that time the paper was in debt and had a circulation of about 14,000. In three years the circulation was about doubled, in 1908 the Des Moines *Tribune* was added to the combine, and still later the *Iowa Capital*.[59] Despite the fact that it operates out of a relatively small city (fifty-four cities were larger in 1940), only five Sunday and twenty-three daily papers in the United States have today a larger circulation than the Des Moines *Register*, a morning paper, the Des Moines

ning Post, Woman's Home Companion, and *McCall's*. See *World Almanac . . . 1949*, 403.

[56] Map in possession of Mr. John Robling, General Promotion Department, Meredith Publishing Company.

[57] *Investors Reader*, 10:17.

[58] Letter from Mr. Donald R. Murphy, Editor, *Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead*, July 7, 1949.

[59] George Mills, "The Des Moines Register," *The Palimpsest*, 30:292–4 (September, 1949).

Tribune, an evening paper, and the Des Moines *Sunday Register*.[60] These are the only daily papers published in Des Moines. The combined average circulation of the daily papers is about 370,000, about 70 per cent of which is delivered to customers outside of Des Moines; the Sunday paper circulates slightly over half a million copies, about 90 per cent outside of the city. Based on the occupied dwellings in Iowa in 1940, this circulation reached 46 per cent of the Iowa families daily and 70 per cent of them on Sunday.[61]

Two other industries that have grown out of local services, the bakery products and bottling industries, are relatively new in their importance. Both have arrived at their modern status with the coming of motor truck delivery of their product from Des Moines to the surrounding territory.

The building and rebuilding of the large number of dwelling houses, business blocks, factories, streets, and utilities that go to make up a modern city have made an additional contribution to the local manufacturing activities of Des Moines. With the rapid growth of the modern metropolis, such things as planing mills and brick factories, present in the earlier period, took on new life. More recently cement plants have become important.

The most significant industry producing materials used in building the physical plant of Des Moines has been the clay products industry. The deep valleys of both the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers have exposed within the city formations of shale suitable for the making of brick, tile, and hollow block. These resources have been utilized throughout the period. The city directory for 1866 listed ten brickmakers; by 1880 eleven firms were turning out nearly twelve million bricks annually. With the shift from wood blocks to brick for street paving in the 1890's, the Des Moines plants produced nearly forty million bricks annually.[62] In terms of employment, brickmaking was second only to printing and publishing from 1899 to 1914.[63]

Planing mills, too, had some importance in the employment picture of the

[60] *World Almanac . . . 1949*, 403. From Audit Bureau of Circulation Reports.

[61] Audit Bureau of Circulation one-day count as of March 31, 1948. *Iowa Grocery Directory* (Des Moines, 1948), 66. Des Moines is one of the ten cities in the United States having a Sunday newspaper circulation of over a half-million. Mills, "The Des Moines Register," 294.

[62] *Des Moines City Directory, 1866-7*, 150-51; Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:290, 352.

[63] *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Manufacturing Industries*, Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 190–97; and following decennial census of manufacturing.

modern period. Gilcrest Brothers Planing Mill and Sash and Door Factory, still on the scene, was already a going concern and, in "an event of the year," opened a large planing mill in 1869.[64]

With the shift toward concrete as a material of construction and the utilization of low-grade raw materials in the production of Portland cement, two cement factories, using locally exposed shales, have been established within the functional city. Employment in these plants, in 1947, eclipsed the combined total employment of brickyards and planing mills.

A second major type of manufacturing, the production of goods finding a ready market among the surrounding Corn Belt farmers, has grown significantly in recent years. In Des Moines this type takes the form of agricultural machinery and accessories of the kind particularly useful to mechanized modern Corn Belt agriculture. A small machinery industry, beginning with the production of carriages, wagons, and agricultural implements, has its counterpart in the modern city in the Wood Brothers Thresher Company and the John Deere Tractor Works, both in their present form postwar establishments.

The Wood Brothers Thresher Company has long utilized Des Moines' position in the heart of an oat growing region for the production of threshing machines. Since the war the company has produced cornpickers and combines for the Ford Motor Company. Early in 1948 the John Deere Company took over a wartime ordnance plant, located north of the city limits. Here, in the center of the leading corn producing state, they too have begun the manufacture of cornpickers.

Complementing the production of agricultural machinery, the production of rubber tires, particularly for this type of machinery, is also important in Des Moines. The Lakeshore Tire and Rubber Company, an old established Des Moines firm, produces tires for a part of the national market, but its sales are concentrated in the Middle West. A Firestone plant, specializing in tires for agricultural machinery, began operations in 1945. Tires are sold to near-by agricultural implement factories and also enter the retail replacement market.

The processing of agricultural raw materials, though of significance all through the modern period, has never dominated the manufacturing life of Des Moines as it has in other smaller Iowa cities such as Sioux City, Cedar

[64] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:256.

Rapids, and Ottumwa. For example, in 1870, meat packing was the city's leading industry, employing 102 men.[65] However, from that time to 1925, the packing business was strictly an "on again, off again" enterprise, sometimes a large employer of labor, selling in the world market, at other times completely shut down. In 1925 Swift and Company bought the largest plant in the city at a receiver's sale, and since that date the plant has been in continuous operation.[66]

Though a number of other manufacturers using agricultural raw materials have existed during various parts of this period, at present the majority of them have ceased to operate. A corn syrup factory, starch factories, breweries, and an alcohol works have all been important employers of labor at various times.[67] A small oatmeal mill, several modest creameries, a woolen mill, and a leather working establishment are all that remain. The processing of agricultural raw materials in Des Moines employed only about 15 per cent of the total labor force working in manufacturing in 1940.[68]

Manufacturing of the type carried on in recognized centers, using raw materials shipped in from outside the region and marketing the finished product on a nation-wide scale, has not been of general importance in the livelihood of Des Moines. However, some successful enterprises of this type have been in operation in the past few decades. The failure of the Tibbets Sewing Machine Works to open in 1889 after much fanfare was symbolic of the lack of this type of operations in the early part of the period, and perhaps made the people of the city wary in encouraging factories of this kind.[69] The Ford Motor Company opened an assembly plant in Des Moines in 1919, but with the passing of the Model T in 1927 it ceased operations.[70] Light manufacturing, where the value of the product is high per unit of value, has had some rather recent representatives. The F. W. Fitch Company, manufacturing perfumers; Armand Company, producers of cosmetics; and the Rollins Hosiery Mills are representatives of this group. The Solar Aircraft Plant, housed in the old Ford building, a remnant of wartime manufacturing, is an important addition to this group.

[65] *Ninth Census of the United States: 1870. Industry and Wealth*, 516.

[66] McCarty and Thompson, "Meat Packing in Iowa," 40-41.

[67] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:288, 292, 294.

[68] *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Manufacturers, 1939*, 326.

[69] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:313.

[70] Letter from Mr. John D. Adams, General Secretary, Des Moines Chamber of Commerce, July 9, 1949.

The service activities of Des Moines have furnished a livelihood for a generally constant proportion of persons in the "Modern Metropolis." This is in contrast to a relative increase in commerce, and a relative decline in manufacturing. Within this category there has been a slight increase in professional service and a slight decrease in domestic and personal service.

In harmony with this trend, Des Moines seems to have served Iowa as a convention city throughout this period. As early as 1873, twenty-three conventions were held in the city. The major hotels now functioning, aided by this convention business, came into existence during this period. The new Savery was built in 1888, the new Kirkwood opened in 1891, the Chamberlain in 1903, and the Fort Des Moines somewhat later. The "Coliseum," a public auditorium, provided a meeting place for groups of up to 10,000 persons after its completion in 1909 until destroyed by fire 40 years later.[71] In 1950 Des Moines voted funds for a new Coliseum, which will seat 20,000 people.

Professional services, especially educational and medical, have made important developments in this period. Des Moines University, Drake University, Highland Park College, and Grand View College were organized during the first thirty years of the "Modern Metropolis." Of these, only Drake and Grand View remain. However, with the expansion of Drake in the peak years to over 4,000 students and 220 faculty members, it is probable that educational services are rendered to more people at present than ever before.[72] Increased medical service is largely a twentieth-century phenomenon. For example, only one of Des Moines' five major hospitals was established before 1900.

The modern commercial center is on Walnut Street. The period has been characterized by an increasing concentration on this street and a westward movement along it. The rapid demise of Court Avenue and Second Street in commercial importance is also notable. As early as 1871 the majority of the establishments commonly associated with the commercial center were on Walnut Street.[73] However, Court Avenue, a relatively short

[71] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:272, 311, 322, 382, 411.

[72] Ilda M. Hammer, *Book of Des Moines* (Des Moines, 1947), 279, map, 88; *World Almanac . . . 1949*, 386.

[73] From business directories of the city for the dates indicated. The establishments of the sort that today are commonly found in the commercial center of a city were plotted on maps with the aid of street numbers, and the percentages computed from this distribution. The classes of establishments mapped included: Boots and Shoes

thoroughfare, was probably at the peak of its prominence, with about half the number of establishments on Walnut, and there were still some business houses on Second Street. On Walnut the clustering was between Third and Fourth streets, and on Court it was between Second and Fourth. A decade later the trend was almost complete: over three-fourths of the establishments sampled were on Walnut, only about one-tenth on Court Avenue; while Second Street, the main shopping street of early Des Moines, had almost none. A beginning of the shift west on Walnut is observable, the main clustering now occurs in the blocks from Third to Sixth with some locations west of Seventh.

By 1891, 80 per cent of the sample business establishments were located along Walnut all the way from Third to beyond Seventh. A concentration is noticed in the block between Fourth and Fifth. Sixth Avenue is now the second ranking street of retail importance, with some establishments along it, both north and south of Walnut. By this date Court, like Second in an earlier period, seems to have been completely abandoned by retail establishments.

The pattern of retail establishments has changed only slightly in the past fifty-eight years. There has been apparently a small movement of the center a block or so farther west: today the most valuable business property is on Walnut between Fifth and Sixth, with the neighboring blocks along Walnut of nearly the same value.[74] The cross streets in these blocks, as well as in the area on Locust between these streets, are also desirable retail areas. The stability of Walnut Street as the retail center over this long a time is one of the striking characteristics of the modern period. Another may be the development of business on Locust and Grand. The recent building of several specialized office buildings north of these streets is also of significance.

Manufacturing in the early part of this period (1880) appears to have been concentrated in the area from which the business center had recently moved. Of forty manufacturing establishments whose addresses are avail-

(retail), Clothing, Gent's Furnishings, Dry Goods, Notions and Fancy Goods, Furniture Dealers (retail), Hats, Caps and Furs, Jewelers and Watch Makers, Millinery (retail), Toys and Notions. When duplicates were excluded, the number of establishments mapped for any year ranged from 48 to 72. The following several paragraphs are from these maps. After 1891 the directories no longer classified establishments in similar categories.

[74] Personal interview with Mr. Hugh Harter, Polk County Assessor.

able, two-thirds were on the west side of the river, mainly concentrated in the area bounded by First Street, Fourth Street, Court Avenue, and Elm Street; a few establishments were as far west as Seventh Street, and some were even on Walnut. On the east side of the river the locations were more scattered but generally were found on the lowlands near the river, from Vine to Sycamore.[75]

In 1870 and 1871 two new packing houses were built east of the river at what is now SE 18th Street and Maury, establishing permanently the site of the packing house district. Subsidiary and associated industries have also moved into this area. In 1888 several firms located between Dean Avenue and the Rock Island tracks, an event which marked the beginning of manufacturing there.[76]

The movement of the better class of residences off the relatively low terrace into the surrounding bluffs, especially to the west, coincides with the beginning of this period. Symbolic of this movement, B. F. Allen, "Des Moines' foremost capitalist," sold his home at Court and Fourth in 1871 and moved to a quarter million dollar house on "Terrace Hill," a twenty-nine acre landscaped plot "between the Adel Road and the 'Coon River' " (the area between the present Grand Avenue, the Raccoon River, and from about Twenty-First to Twenty-Eighth Street).[77]

As Des Moines grew in population and livelihood activities, in another and final expansion in 1890, the boundaries were extended to include the 53.4 square miles of the present city. This addition took in eight incorporated towns as well as a considerable amount of unincorporated area.[78] Greenwood Park, a suburb to the west taken in by this expansion, was said to contain some of the most elegant residences in the county. Greenwood Avenue, "the finest drive in the city, extends through it from east to west" (now Woodlawn Avenue from Twenty-Eighth Street to Forty-Second Street). "It was a popular place of residence for business men — not so crowded as in Des Moines." Other towns included were Sevastopol, located south of the river and the site of four coal mines, and University Place, seat of Drake University. It had fine homes and was said to attract

[75] *History of Polk County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1880), 709–716.

[76] McCarty and Thompson, "Meat Packing in Iowa," 37-8; Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:311.

[77] Brigham, *History of Des Moines . . .*, 1:244; Porter, *Annals of Polk County . . .*, 378-9.

[78] Hammer, *Book of Des Moines*, Map, 88.

the "better class" citizen. The street railroad was being extended in that direction. Chesterfield, to the east, had several "heavy" manufacturing establishments. North Des Moines, Capital Park, and Eaton Place to the north, and Grant Park to the west, were the other suburbs incorporated.[79]

In the past, Des Moines has reflected the characteristics of the people and of the economy of the state of Iowa to a greater extent, perhaps, than do most state capitals. Many factors combine to produce this result. Numerous transportation routes tie all parts of Iowa to Des Moines. There are no mountainous sections or areas of hill country within the state, no deeply cut canyons or large bodies of water to hamper the development of transportation routes. Corn Belt agriculture on Iowa's fertile, well-watered soil has been relatively profitable, and the farmers of the state, as well as the small town dwellers they support, are generally economically in the class that is presumed to travel to make purchases. Iowa farmers have the equipment and freedom to use their highways. The state ranks first in percentage of farmers owning automobiles, with about as many farmers reporting automobiles as reporting buildings.[80] In addition, farmers are free to plan the use of their own time and are free to travel any day of the week.

Though Iowa has been settled almost entirely within the past one hundred years by migrants from previously settled states to the east, as well as by people coming directly from Europe, no significant cultural islands remain. Further, very few of the groups that elsewhere have resisted or have been denied integration are present in the state. These facts, together with physical uniformity and similar economic conditions, make for an unusual degree of cultural similarity and a lack of sectionalism within Iowa.

As a result, Des Moines has developed into an effective focal point providing organizational unity to a relatively homogeneous agricultural state. The future evolution of Des Moines seems to lie in a continuation of this role. Upon the prosperity and good will of the people of Iowa, operating within the framework of the national economy and world order, lies the future of the city of Des Moines.

[79] Bushnell, *Resources and Industries of Des Moines . . .*, 99–102; Hammer, *Book of Des Moines*, 88.

[80] 192,456 farms reporting automobiles; 219,140 farms reporting buildings. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Census of Agriculture.*

A WOMAN PROMOTES THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY OF SENATOR ALLISON, 1888

By Edward A. White

Although the Democrats held the presidency in 1888, the Republicans thought their chances of displacing them considerably better than four years before, when Grover Cleveland had defeated James G. Blaine by only a narrow margin. Various party leaders believed that success at the national convention that year would give them not only control of the Republican party, but also of the government. As a result, the field of aspirants was large. When the convention opened at Chicago on June 19, six candidates contested the nomination, while about as many more urged their availability in case a deadlock among the leaders should prolong the convention. The leading candidates were Benjamin Harrison and Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana, William B. Allison of Iowa, John Sherman of Ohio, Chauncey M. Depew of New York, and Russell A. Alger of Michigan.

Blaine, who had lost New York in 1884 by a scant 1,100 votes, and with it the election, had waited until February of 1888 to announce that for personal reasons he would not seek the nomination. In the convention, however, he was well represented by eager supporters who hoped until the end to win him the nomination by a spontaneous demonstration of enthusiasm on the convention floor.

The outward signs of the spirited activities of the 1888 Republican convention in Chicago were the eight ballots for the presidential nomination, beginning with the first roll call on Friday, June 22, and concluding with the nomination of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana on the eighth ballot on Monday, June 25. For Harrison, the decisive moments in the convention were the critical ballots on Saturday, when he jumped from fourth to second place, and on Monday, when he went into the lead. And in these developments, the determining influences were, first, winning the New York vote for Harrison, and secondly, circumventing the Blaine candidacy, which alone was sufficiently powerful among the convention delegates to threaten a nomination based on sentiment rather than on commitments.

The most critical decision of the convention was that of the New York

delegation to support Harrison. Harrison's rivals for the nomination believed that this decision had been purchased by a promise of patronage to Thomas Collier Platt, political boss of New York and leader of the New York delegation to the convention. If this is true, there were two times during the convention week when it could have been made. One was Friday afternoon, when Harrison's manager, Louis T. Michener, negotiated with Platt; another was Sunday morning, when Stephen B. Elkins, the personal representative of Blaine, took Platt for a carriage ride along the shores of Lake Michigan, and upon returning predicted that New York would give its full vote to Harrison. Meanwhile, Harrison's managers at Chicago were urging him to promise the appointment of a cabinet officer to Matthew S. Quay, the boss of Pennsylvania, in return for Quay's support at the convention, but Harrison refused to sign a letter for Quay as evidence of his willingness to grant this request.[1]

Another conference, not recorded by Platt or Sherman, also occurred, according to George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, on Friday afternoon, when the convention had taken a recess from 12 to 4 o'clock. During this recess the heads of various state delegations had met in a room at the convention hall "to see if they could agree upon a candidate." Hoar represented the Massachusetts delegation; Platt and two others were there in behalf of New York, while Chauncey Depew, the fourth member of the New York group, was absent. Politicians from Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Illinois each had authority to decide their state's vote. James S. Clarkson of Iowa attended, "with authority to vote for Mr. Allison from the beginning." Hoar, who had originally favored Sherman, found that he could not carry the Massachusetts delegation with him and had, therefore, changed his support to Allison. After various discussions, the group of state leaders had agreed to cast their votes for Allison. This decision seemed agreeable to the New York men, but when the group convened again just before the convention met at 4, the New Yorkers announced that, because of the opposition of

[1] On this much-argued point, see Thomas Collier Platt, *The Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt* (New York, 1910), 205-206, 218-19. Louis T. Michener in an undated memorandum in the *Michener Papers*, Box 2 (Library of Congress), denies that any bargain was made with Platt. John Sherman thought that any bargain, if one were made, did not involve Harrison. John Sherman, *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet: An Autobiography* (2 vols., Chicago, 1895), 2:1029. John B. Elam and L. T. Michener to Harrison, June 17, 1888, in *Harrison Papers* (Library of Congress), Vol. 29. This collection, now open to the historian, throws new light on the convention of 1888.

Depew, they could not carry out the agreement. Depew, a railroad man, who had withdrawn as a candidate because of the opposition of the agrarian element represented by Allison, refused to vote for his Iowa opponent. Allison's support came from Iowa and the agricultural states of the Northwest; Depew had agreed to withdraw his own name, but "he would not so far submit to such an unreasonable and socialistic sentiment as to give his consent" to the nomination of Allison. Thus, writes Hoar, "the thing fell through. If it had gone over, New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Iowa, California, and perhaps Missouri, would have cast their votes unanimously for Allison, and his nomination would have been sure. I think no other person ever came so near the Presidency of the United States, and missed it."[2]

Whatever the relative strength of these various agreements, Harrison emerged from the balloting Saturday morning as a strong contender for the nomination. Many delegates feared, however, that the Blaine movement was growing, and that the convention might resolve the deadlock at any moment by the sudden nomination of Blaine.[3]

But even before the convention had reassembled after another afternoon recess, a reaction to the Blaine scare had set in. In part this can be attributed to the determined opposition of a group of powerful convention leaders whose only basis for union hitherto had been their common hostility to Harrison. For other reasons, also, the temper of the convention appeared skeptical both of the trend toward Blaine and of the leadership of the New York politicians. A caucus of the Wisconsin delegation during the afternoon agreed not to support Blaine, which the Chicago *Tribune*, friendly to the candidacy of Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana, took to mean that Wisconsin would desert Harrison on the next ballot.[4] Moreover, with Blaine's nomination so near, the fear grew that his name at the head of the national

[2] George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (2 vols., London, 1904), 1:410–13.

[3] See, for example, the telegrams of Sherman's advisers in the convention of June 23, 1888, in the *Sherman Papers*, Vol. 450 (Library of Congress). Sherman urged his supporters to resist the "carefully arranged plot" to nominate Blaine. Sherman to H. C. Hedges, n.d., telegram, in *Sherman Papers*, Vol. 450, No. 29,393. Elkins, who had been Blaine's manager in 1884, was universally recognized as the politician best able to control the large Blaine following at the convention. See, for example, J. S. Clarkson to Elkins, May 18, 1888; B. F. Jones to Elkins, May 23, 1888; L. T. Michener to Elkins, June 9, 1888, etc., in *Elkins Papers* (University of West Virginia Archives, Morgantown, W. Va.).

[4] Chicago *Tribune*, June 24, 1888.

ticket would defeat it in the election.[5] And finally, the Blaine leaders themselves, discovering the opposition to their program, began to take fright and concluded that the best way to promote the candidacy of their man was to continue the strategy of Fabian withdrawal before the united opposition of their enemies. They therefore allowed the convention to be adjourned; but in doing so they lost their one opportunity to accomplish Blaine's nomination, for by the time the delegates reassembled Monday morning the winning combination had already settled upon Harrison.[6]

On Monday, James S. Clarkson and the Iowa people held the center of the stage. Clarkson was one of the group of leaders who, admitting the possibility of Blaine's nomination, had conferred secretly with Elkins and Platt; but openly he had acted with the opponents of Harrison and had continued to advocate the nomination of Senator William B. Allison. When Blaine's withdrawal seemed assured, Clarkson entered into the Harrison movement and took Iowa with him. Monday morning a caucus of the Iowa delegation had considered a second choice, in case they should fail to nominate Allison. Clarkson explained that the Iowa men were willing to abandon their candidate because they were "more governed by the party interest than [by] interest . . . [in] Senator Allison."[7] For a second choice the Iowa people preferred Gresham to Harrison, but Clarkson convinced them that Gresham's candidacy at that stage of the convention was even more hopeless than Allison's. Some of Sherman's supporters believed that with the choice narrowed to the Ohio and Indiana candidates, the action of Allison's men had been decisive.[8] Most significant was the Iowa delegation's refusal to cooperate further in the convention with the opponents of Harrison.

Without the support of the Allison men, the opposition to Harrison collapsed. The Allison and Gresham strength had formed the center of the bulwark against Harrison, cooperating with the Sherman faction as long as Blaine's nomination threatened. But when Clarkson, together with power-

[5] One of Allison's correspondents, for example, asserted that the nomination of Blaine "under the circumstances . . . [would be] a violation of the first maxim of war. 'Never do that which your enemy wishes you to do.'" J. Fred Meyers to Allison, June 23, 1888, in *Allison Papers*, Box 264 (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa).

[6] See the New York *World*, June 24, 1888.

[7] Interview with Clarkson, in Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, June 28, 1888.

[8] Frank B. Baird to Sherman, June 25, 1888, telegram, in *Sherman Papers*, Vol. 451, Nos. 29,600-29,601.

ful leaders from New England, withdrew from the combination, the Gresham men were powerless to continue their opposition. Sherman counted heavily on the support of Illinois, but at the last moment Illinois deserted him. The disintegration of the rival candidacies allowed the convention to conform rigidly to the pattern Elkins and Platt had evidently drawn for it on Sunday.

Assured of victory, Michener telegraphed Harrison Monday morning that he would be nominated that day. While the delegates were assembling, Michener and William F. Dudley, a confederate, took command of the Harrison organization in the convention hall. Dudley "used the left aisle," Michener explained, "and I the right one. We walked the aisles, talked right and left with the delegates, met in the rear aisle to confer, and then resumed our work, and so on to the end."[9] A few minutes before the chairman called the convention to order, Clarkson held a consultation with Platt and the other New Yorkers to find out whether they proposed to stay with Harrison when the balloting began or to leave him and divide their votes between Sherman and Russell A. Alger of Michigan. Platt promised that New York would carry out the plan, and Clarkson returned to the Iowa delegation to await developments.[10]

When the final session began, a spokesman for Blaine read two messages received from him the day before, asking his friends not to seek his nomination. The California delegation, however, which from the beginning had been the nucleus of the Blaine strength, refused to change its vote. Although New York for the first time cast its full strength for Harrison, there were no other additions, and Harrison's total was not appreciably increased. But Michener learned from the Iowa leaders that they would withdraw Allison's name at the end of the next ballot. With this information Michener went to the California men and suggested that they lead the break to Harrison. He argued that they could demonstrate how they exercised more influence in national party councils than the California delegates to the Democratic convention, who had been able to obtain only the temporary chairmanship.

On the next ballot, the seventh of the convention, California came to Harrison with fifteen of its sixteen votes, putting him in first place with a

[9] Michener, "The National Convention of 1888," 5-6, unpublished manuscript, in *Michener Papers*, Box 1.

[10] Interview with Clarkson, in Chicago *Tribune*, June 26, 1888.

total of 279. Immediately a group formed in the aisle in front of the New York delegation. It consisted of Platt, Depew, Matthew Quay of Pennsylvania, and David B. Henderson of Iowa. Shortly Clarkson came over. They talked vigorously. When they separated, "knowing persons said, 'That settles it.' " In Clarkson's opinion, the situation "had become nervous and was fast growing morbid." He thought the party could best meet it by nominating a ticket agreeable to the two doubtful states, New York and Indiana. Clarkson went to the leaders of several other delegations, among them New Jersey, Wisconsin, and West Virginia, and announced that in view of New York's determination to leave Sherman, Iowa would give up Allison and join the Harrison movement if the other states would participate. He made what he described in a newspaper interview as "a patriotic appeal, unselfish and purely in the interest of the party."[11]

When Clarkson reported to his delegation that the other states had accepted the proposal to unite on Harrison, Henderson arose, thanked the friends of Senator Allison for their support, and withdrew Allison's name. On the final ballot Allison's entire following of 99 votes went to Harrison. When New York continued its support, Quay brought the Pennsylvania delegation into the Harrison column. The vote of Tennessee gave Harrison a majority, and the remaining states fell quickly into line. On the eighth ballot, Harrison was nominated with 544 votes, to 118 for Sherman, 100 for Alger, and 59 for Gresham.

An interlude in the story of this convention at Chicago in 1888, which is an item in the social history of American politics, played a small part in the presidential candidacy of Senator William B. Allison of Iowa. Without much political significance, the brief but bizarre career of Annette W. W. Hicks Lord as a convention conspirator is notable because it reveals, better than newspaper accounts or secret messages, the richly colored human qualities mixed in the palette of politics at Chicago. And more, in the personality of this woman one discovers something of the intense personal loyalty which was so much a part of the politics of the eighties. The temptation is all too great to treat the convention as a smoothly working machine, responding to the delicate manipulations of the Stephen B. Elkins's, the Thomas Collier Platts, and the Mark Hannas. But the men and the few women who gathered at Chicago were human beings, in none of whom can

[11] Interview with Clarkson, in Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, June 28, 1888.

the qualities of personal and party devotion be seen so intimately as in Annette.

The story of Mrs. Hicks Lord's activities in the Allison cause is told in a series of fourteen letters to Allison covering the period from the beginning of March to the end of August. During this period Annette was in Washington, at her home in New York, attending the convention at Chicago, and in Paris and London on a holiday. She was at the time a widow, but had been married to one Henry W. Hicks who had considerable property interests in Toledo and in Hicksville, Ohio. Her double name suggests that she may have been married again after the death of her husband, but she did not write of this to Allison. Annette was probably in her late fifties, or older; she mentioned that the late Chief Justice Waite had served her husband's interests at Toledo for twenty-three years, and she had in her employ at the time a maid who had been with her for twenty-six years. She was apparently a woman of some wealth and had good connections. She kept half a dozen servants at her New York residence at 32 Washington Square, West, where she lived alone. It is impossible to give, in any summary of Annette's correspondence with Allison, an adequate impression of the personal challenge which Allison's prospects for the nomination gave her, or of the convention scene which met her eyes. Allison's candidacy took on with her something of the fervor of a crusade, and only by quoting generous extracts from her letters can one hope to reproduce anything of the flavor of her experiences.

Annette spent the spring months of 1888 in Washington. While there she occupied her spare time with politics, heard Allison speak in the Senate, met him on occasion at dinner parties, and began to show an interest in his campaign for the presidential nomination. Her interest in Allison's career probably dates from this time, although she mentioned an offer to help Allison "obtain the Presidency of that California College . . . long before I knew who you were." She had made this offer at the table of a Washington friend, "Mother" Dahlgreen, who seems to have been an important link between Annette and Allison. Many of the politically ambitious public men of Washington attended Mrs. Dahlgreen's parties, for she was thought to have some influence with the Catholic vote.

At the point where we break in upon Annette's correspondence with Allison, we find her scolding the Senator for not having paid his dinner call

to Mrs. Dahlgreen. "Don't you know," she remarked, "she is power (through high dignitaries of her church) as regards the *Catholic vote.* It seems Shermans friends have been after her." Annette had called on Mrs. Dahlgreen that morning and she had been told "in a very casual way *all* her guests except yourself had paid her their digestion visit and she attributed this contrast to your former regard for all social obligations [to] the results of the strain upon you relative to the Presidency matters. . . ."[12]

The first meeting between Annette and Allison had been at one of Mrs. Dahlgreen's dinner parties. Next day her hostess "came to the Arlington to see me and talk it all over. She told me then for the first [time] who and what you were, and admitted her motive in placing me at the table as she did; was to make a *tool* of me to secure the Catholic vote in N York for the Rep-n Presidency. I roared at the idea, was flattered into the belief, I could do it if I liked."

Annette had no designs upon the person or the public reputation of the unmarried senator. Her "nameless infatuation, that passion of my heart and soul," was a passion not for Allison but for politics. Of course she recognized that if he were President "Any single woman would have set their cap for handsome Allison," but for herself Annette would say that she was "not in the market, nor have I an axe to grind, having had my day over and over again. . . ." On the contrary, her political efforts were dictated by an interest quite impersonal. "I do it for the fun of the thing in a sly way just to see the wheel go. . . ." And if it should turn out that at the same time she could be useful to Allison, she would be gratifying one of the major impulses of her nature, for she was the sort of person who took great "delight in obliging people, in doing kind acts. . . ." Add to that an interest in politics which gave her "amusement and occupation . . . in trying to understand the public questions which concern our blessed Country," and the fact that she had "nothing special on hand" to occupy her mind, and Annette lacked only the opportunity to become a political intriguer.[13]

The opportunity presented itself when she was approached by three "prominent Republicans" to go to Chicago in their interest. She declined, with the excuse that she had had no political experience, and if she went at

[12] Annette W. W. Hicks Lord to Allison, March 2, 1888. (The letters used in this article are all to be found in Box 263 of the *Allison Papers.*)

[13] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, Mar. 12, May 31, June 17, 25, 1888.

all it would be only as a spectator. But meantime she had determined to do what she could at Chicago for Allison. "The fact is," she wrote him, "I am going to throw myself, neck and heels, heart and soul, in dead earnest, and work hammer and tongues [*sic*] in getting votes for — Hon. Senator Allison."[14]

Annette's participation in the Allison campaign raised the delicate question of how communication between her and her candidate was to be arranged. Even while in Washington she had discouraged his coming to see her, believing that his political opponents would find some avenue for attacking him on what might appear to be a compromising situation. Now that she was in New York, communication seemed even more difficult. She had at first felt that Allison's writing to her "might in some way jeopardize [his] interests," and had therefore suggested that he keep in touch with her through Mrs. Dahlgreen. But when Allison wrote acknowledging her "three months performance" in Washington, Annette was "not the least bit displeased . . . (on the contrary was rather set up)," and concluded that her "strict injunctions" not to write had perhaps been "a far fetched delicacy. . . ." From her caution in so small a matter, one gets the impression that Annette was scrupulously observing all the proprieties which her somewhat unusual undertaking dictated. Now, however, she not only encouraged Allison to write directly, but to call at her house if he should be in New York. She needed advice on the ways of politicians.

> I really would like to have a talk with you [Annette wrote] and have you tell me, whether my putting my oar in for you, at Chicago, would be judicious, and if so tell me how and what to do. I have talked around, in an indirect way and find New York politicians have an idea I am [a] sort of power. I swallow it all, look wise, and knowing, but confess to you, I am as green as grass, all in the dark and realize it is about time I understood myself.[15]

Allison could not come to New York, but he wrote her in June and promised to send James S. Clarkson around to her at Chicago:

> I find now it will not be possible for me to reach N. Y. before you will be on your way to Chicago. I am sure you will be much interested there. No, I cannot mark out for you any special line of policy. I have asked my friend Clarkson whom you call a trump to call on you when he ascertains your address, which I

[14] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, May 31, 1888.
[15] *Idem.*

> have promised to send him, and may I kindly ask you to send it to me. He may and probably will have suggestions to make. I thank you for your kindness, and now that the ice is clear all will go well with us in our correspondence.[16]

Annette took what seems to be the unnecessary precaution of returning this letter to Allison. "I *always* send back all confidential letters for the writer to burn up," she explained. "It is either *hit* or *miss* with you now days, and as I am a stranger to you and a self imposed political friend, mum and *caution* are the words."[17]

With "mum and caution," then, Annette prepared for her adventure. She engaged a suite of rooms at the Palmer House for herself, a maid, a manservant, and her friend, Mrs. Eugene McLean, whom she was taking along as her guest to serve as a "good blinder for my purposes." Annette described Mrs. McLean as one of her "seven special intimate friends who are as much at home in my house as their own." In Annette's opinion, she was "very lovely" and a "splendid talker," with the additional advantage that her husband was a Democrat, which might help to obscure the nature of Annette's visit to Chicago. Mrs. McLean's own political affiliations were, "like a garter or suspender, very adjustable indeed." Unlike the Washington circle in which she had moved, few of Annette's New York friends were interested in politics, so she could tell them without arousing their suspicions that she was going to Chicago "to see the Circus" and to take a look, on her way back, at her "weighty interests in Ohio. . . ." Even Mrs. McLean must be kept in the dark about Annette's real mission to Chicago. She would tell her that of course they must have a candidate, because "to attend the Convention without a special interest would be tame enough for both of us." She would acknowledge Allison as hers, but would point out that she had met him only once in Washington, for since he moved in a select circle and was a hard working statesman, she "had never stumbled over" him.[18] She would arrive in Chicago Friday morning, June 15, and so have about a week to get in her work before the convention opened.

In just what capacity did Annette W. W. Hicks Lord propose to serve Allison at the convention? She was apparently a close friend of the Sher-

[16] Allison to Mrs. Hicks Lord, June 7, 1888.

[17] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 8, 1888.

[18] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 8, 12, 1888.

man family, and although she might have been willing to do a turn for General William T. Sherman, she had no love for his brother, John. Annette proposed to help Allison's candidacy by discovering the sources of Sherman's strength and swinging as much of it as she could to Allison. She was to go to the Shermans' that evening for dinner. "I'll get my *pay*," she announced, "by pumping the whole concern, to night, sort of in the family nag style, you know. . . . I will have a sort of *Sherman's March*, grope my way, feel about and perhaps pick up a *handle* to work on in Chicago. . . ." If there were anything deceitful in action of this sort, she intimated rather petulantly that she had been left to it as her only course by Allison's failure to see her and give her a more specific program, "for nobody gives me a helping hand, s'pose they think me of no account, so as usual I'll paddle my own canoe alone."[19]

Annette did not get to the family dinner at the Shermans'. "The Senator was too driven to eat. The Genl had lumbago in his back, and Mrs. Sherman gone to the Sanitarium in New Jersey. . . ." Instead, she went to call the following Sunday afternoon. Pretending that she wished to make herself useful to Senator Sherman at Chicago, Annette asked the General to give her what information he could about his brother's following in the convention. The General gave her notes of introduction to ex-Governor Charles Foster of Ohio and to J. B. Drake, the proprietor of the Grand Pacific Hotel. Foster and Drake, the General said, "know all *the secrets* of this Convention and Drake knows of *every* meeting in his Hotel and what is going on, all the time." He told her that through them she would be able to work to the best possible advantage to Sherman.

> Just present these cards [the General said], say you are a friend of the Sherman family and desire to serve the Senator, ask what *man* you had best know, then go to work and be agreeable. If you want to invite them to dinner, they will designate the men to ask. Said I, thunder and lightening Genl, I shall do not such thing at all. Well said he, I'll give you the ammunition and you fire off what guns you like.

Other avenues of influence were suggested to Annette in General Crook and Horace Pullman. General Grant's son, Fred, came into the room and told her that Mrs. Potter Palmer was preparing to entertain for her in Chicago. The total effect Annette found somewhat overwhelming. "Oh,

[19] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 8, 1888.

dear! oh dear," she wailed in writing to Allison of her afternoon at the Sherman's, "I am in such a mess."

But of the workings of a convention she thought she had learned something. Ben Butler dropped in to call on the General. It was the first time Annette had ever seen him. She asked him to describe a convention for her.

> . . . he blew his nose got very red pulled his long hair first with one hand then the other and then played and felt of the ends of the hair, till he looked like an enraged old rooster. He said the first day would be ballots. That day all the Candidates would know by night where they stood. Next day would be deliberation, and the last day, when candidates get down to 3, and 2, and 1, we would know who was nominated. Gen. S—n said, Blaine was *out* and sincere, and all the others had agreed to [word illegible] and work for the strongest man.[20]

Somewhere within the machinery of the convention, Annette thought, there must be a place for her to serve Allison's candidacy.

Disappointed at first because Allison had not seen fit to visit her in New York, Annette reluctantly came to admit that he had perhaps chosen the wiser course. She agreed that it was "smart" for him not to come. "Fixed it as slick as you liked, it would have leaked out." What finally placated her was Allison's promise that Clarkson would undertake to direct her work at Chicago. She would make no further protest; that arrangement

> . . . *settles* the whole thing. What would be the use of an interview, if Mr. Clarkson will come to my rescue, on the spot too, *in Chicago*. To be bossed by such an intelligent person as he seems to be, is just the thing *I want*. He will discover every lady who attends the Chicago Convention and takes an interest in politics has her own standard and ideas.[21]

While pleased at the prospect of working under Clarkson's supervision, Annette was impatient to know just what she might do. "The question is, where can I come in and be of use and not betray my hand." At times supremely confident of her ability to effect Allison's nomination almost single-handed, Annette occasionally confessed that she understood nothing of the political operations which she believed were going on all about her. "It seems to me at times as if I should burst for I feel so in the dark, so beyond my depth, so fearful of making a mistake, so pent-up and excited."

[20] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison [June 10, 1888].
[21] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 8, 1888.

What she really wanted seems clear enough: first of all, just a grand spree, an exciting political lark to break the tedium of a life in which only servants, society, and a little social work mitigated the irresponsibility of her widowhood. "In Chicago," she hoped, "I can let myself go, perhaps." But in addition she needed more of an excuse for her Chicago trip than the mere prospect of a holiday had given her. With an approach to politics typically feminine, she began to see everywhere the opportunities for intrigue and quickly placed herself, in her fantasies, at the center of a complex of devious operations. She trembled at the thought that any false step might betray her hand. The role in which she cast herself was perhaps an inconspicuous one but not, to her mind, without decisive effect: she wished to be "the mouse that made a hole in the net and let the *Lion out.*"[22]

General Sherman's suggestions on Sunday about how she could serve his brother gave her an idea; Butler's analysis of the convention provided its setting.

> I can't see why our Mr. Clarkson cant give me the names of some men to ask to dinner on *deliberation day*, and why I cant get Potter Palmer at the Palmer House to help us. If I give him carte-blanche to get up the handsomest dinner he knows how to get up at his Palmer House perhaps that would sweeten him up. You see I arrive Friday at 9. a m, so I would have Saturday Sunday Monday and Tuesday to get up the dinner, and stuff those old fellows so, they would vote for you.[23]

Here indeed was an important mission, and it lay in a field where no one could doubt her competence. The dinners she planned would, of course, be costly, "with best of wines, flowers, and so on." Her parties "would be big things. But I can handle dinners and know how to do them up, whether political or social, at least I am vain enough to think so."[24] Her contacts with the Sherman people would make it possible for her to gather many of the opposition leaders around her table. She would have an opportunity "to pump Mr. Drake," if Clarkson wished it. Not a large undertaking, to be sure, but Annette felt that "as the end nears, all hands grab everything within reach, and utilize it, even poor ignorant me. . . .

[22] *Idem.*

[23] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison [June 10, 1888].

[24] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 16, 1888. The last sentence quoted is scratched out in the letter.

In time of way, any stratagem a woman might resort to is all right, particularly such a green horn as yrs. . . ."[25] Meantime, then, she would wait for her interview with Clarkson in Chicago, and she asked Allison to send him to her Friday morning almost the moment she arrived.

She found a few little things to do for Allison in New York, such as having her agents see that articles favorable to his candidacy got into the Ohio newspapers. For the Republican cause in general she sent her house guests to participate in the Memorial Day demonstration, where they joined other partisans in giving Cleveland an unfriendly reception by cheering Buffalo Bill more enthusiastically than they did the President. But in the main she concluded that, with the formulation of a definite plan of operation, she could rest quietly until she reached the convention. Her best plan, she decided in her last letter from New York, was "to hold on till I reach the battle ground, then ask questions."[26]

And so to Chicago. The trip itself was an adventure, for Pullman travel in the eighties was not the comfortable pastime it has since become. Annette paid $150 for her accommodations, taking "two *entire* private rooms with dressing rooms adjoining." Mrs. McLean occupied one of them, Annette and her maid (who "always sleeps near me on a sofa or cot even if she has her section or hotel room") the other.

> Such a high old time as I had getting here to Chicago. Mrs. McLean is sick abed, and my maid has sick head-ache, from want of sleep. The engine broke. We got another at Altoona, and went like mad to catch up and make up time. The track was rough, the night hot, the whistle of the engine was perpetual and how I slept as I did through thick and thin is a wonder. . . .
>
> Well an accident happened to the fine car, in which my rooms were secured and they put on an old rattle trap at Jersey City, the best substitute they had. It bounced and flew around the curves and we were jolted and shook up, but of the three, I stood it *best*, and think a drive in the air will restore my friend.[27]

Annette busied herself her first day in Chicago unpacking and caring for her sick. She was visited by three reporters — one of them came twice to see her — and she wished she "was less conspicuous. I am sure I do not seek it." At the same time she admitted frankly that "Any delight is nov-

[25] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison [June 10, 1888].

[26] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 12, 1888.

[27] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 15, 16, 1888.

elty and occupation. I guess I've got it now." With her rooms at the Palmer House she was very much pleased. She accommodated herself quickly to her new surroundings, an adjustment made easier by the fact that her section of the hotel was "as retired as a private house." She was well cared for by her servants and the hotel management, and fascinated by the scenes of bustling activity about the lobbies and corridors.

> My servant sits by my door and my maid sits in my bed room. We have an excellent private waiter who serves our private table, and the manager of the Hotel has been himself *twice* to know if I am satisfied. I hear the crowd entering the dining room. Requires fifteen minutes to get to their tables. Fred Douglas and his party are the admiration of my servants. They are proud of him. He is at the Palmer. We all are proud of some one.[28]

For Annette's part, she was proud of Allison — of his dignity of manner and his competence in statecraft. On her arrival at Chicago she had found a letter from him waiting for her, and thought she could detect in it some note of increased formality not quite in keeping with the intimate nature of her mission in his behalf. She was afraid Allison was "a little huffy" with her. Instead of beginning his letter "My dear Mrs. Hicks Lord" and ending it "Yours sincerely," he had saluted her with "Dear" and closed with only "Very truly yours." How explain this "stiffness"? All she could suggest was that in view of her proposal to use her friendship with the Shermans to Allison's advantage, he might be thinking, "if she is capable of deceiving one friend she is capable of doing ditto to another." She insisted that the confidences of the Shermans had been thrust upon her by the General, so "the consequences were *his own* look out."[29] Allison's good opinion of her must be won, apparently, by some definite achievement in the interest of his nomination. So she set to work.

When Clarkson called Friday afternoon Annette warned him of the danger of Drake and the Sherman men discovering secret information concerning the Allison candidacy. She was alarmed when Clarkson told her that the Allison headquarters were to be moved that night to rooms in the Grand Pacific which Drake had been "most *officious*" in urging the Allison people to occupy. Annette was convinced that Drake could not be trusted,

[28] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 17, 1888. "Fred Douglas" is undoubtedly the famous ex-slave, Frederick Douglass.

[29] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 15, 1888.

the more so when she learned from Clarkson that Drake was pretending to be a supporter of Gresham. One could not be too careful about guarding political secrets from a man like Drake, for "the progress of science is so great now days" that he might easily have means for overhearing everything said in his hotel. Disguising his real intentions by parading as a Gresham man, she thought,

> . . . is a part of his secret telephone wires, throughout his house. I entreated of him to snoop behind the looking glasses, cracks in floor under carpet and cornices, up the chimney and realize they were in a trap. . . . Clarkson feels my *arrival has struck a thread in his mind,* for he has asked himself, WHY is Drake so eager and anxious to have me occupy the new rooms.[30]

She told Clarkson of her own plan to utilize General Sherman's letters of introduction for the purpose of gaining information for the benefit of Allison's candidacy. Together they decided along what lines Annette should lead the conversation with Drake the next day. She would try to discover the extent of Sherman's strength, his prospects for increasing his vote, and any symptoms which Drake may have noticed of the movement of other combinations in Sherman's direction. And then, coming to the crucial point, her conversation would be something like this:

> See here Mr. Drake, our friend *Genl* Sherman told me in confidence, you had a way of acquiring knowledge of the doings in your Hotel. What a clever and wonderful man you must be. How useful to Senator Sherman. Tell me, to amuse me how it is accomplished. I come to you as a sort of Sherman Delegate and you must point out the ropes to me, and tell me how you find things out.[31]

There was no doubt but that it would be a battle of wits, that conversation between Annette and Drake at the Grand Pacific. Both were schemers, both had weapons with which the other was unfamiliar. Drake had his telephone wires, and Annette, her woman's intuition. But she would not hazard a guess at this point as to which of "us two mortals is the most contemptable, he or myself, the Duck or the Drake." Next morning, however, she would "attack this old Drake after his breakfast." Now Annette was "indeed the mouse we read of in the fable, that let the Lion out of the

[30] *Idem.*

[31] *Idem.*

net in which he was entrapped." Too tired to go to sleep when she went to bed that night, Annette got up, went into her parlor, took a seat in an arm chair, and "played (as the children say) the dining table was Mr. Drake." She rehearsed the interview, walked the floor, and finally collapsed with fatigue and went back to bed too sleepy to say her prayers.[32]

Next morning Annette was up early and off before nine o'clock to find Drake. She had thought she would use as an excuse for approaching him the pretense of securing more comfortable rooms at the Grand Pacific than she enjoyed at the Palmer House, but when the moment arrived this stratagem did not become necessary. But Annette can explain better how she arranged the interview:

> . . . This is the way I managed *this* morning, to get to the Drake den. I would not have a *carriage*, so I put on my linen duster, my green veil, my sun umbrella, and my small black bag on my arm. I ordered Tom to walk *ahead* and *stop* when within a block of *Ladies* entrance of Grand Pacific Hotel, then *leave* me and go to market buy some fruit and flowers, order a carriage to drive at three this afternoon. I was all in a muck of sweat when I entered that door. I pulled off my rough get up (duster and veil) as I was gotten up in a beautiful dress to *impress Mr. Drake*. Said I, to the waiter (who does the ladies reception room honors, he was there alone dusting with his whisk broom) said I will you oblige me, by taking that card to Mr. Drake, and say, I want to see him for a moment. Why, says he, Mr. Drake *cant* be seen marm. Said I take this $5 bill buy some segars for yourself. Go straight to Mr. Drake tell him I have a political message for him from General Sherman. I will come up *to him*, or he can come here *to* me. Down came a short thick set fat man, out of breath, said I sit down and give me five minutes. I handed him Genl S's card, told him to read it and put it in his pocket. I then handed him Ex Gov Fosters card. I put *that* in my bag after he read it.

From her conversation with Drake, Annette gathered that his managers were very hopeful for Sherman's nomination. As yet, however, they did not know where the votes necessary to nominate him could be secured, and they had seen no signs of other combinations breaking up and going to him. Annette told Drake of her plan to arrange dinner parties in Sherman's interest for powerful members of the convention. That strategy, Drake thought, would have no influence on the delegates. It was an "ex-

[32] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 16, 1888.

ploded" style. All the Sherman leaders wanted was money. Drake said he had already given $4,000 and wanted more. "He jumped at his idea of getting cash down for Sherman boom. Said, *money* was the *ticket* in this campaign. All things were governed by money. Men would do any thing for *money*. That all I could do was to give *money*. It would be spent for Sherman. No other influence would avail."

She asked him about his means for finding out the secrets of the rival delegations which occupied rooms at the Grand Pacific. "A nervous twitch of both shoulders, a compression of both lips, a glare at me in my eyes then with an abrupt move to get up, said he 'there is a *Delegation at work now* up stairs. *I must be off*. But for your message to me and card, I would not have come down to receive you. I see no one.' "

Drake asked to see her again next morning at nine, and promised to tell her then through whom to make contributions to the Sherman campaign. Examining her own reactions later, Annette concluded that Drake had been "agitated and fidgety and wished me to the devil." Her woman's intuition told her that he was a "rascal." She had felt decidedly uncomfortable in his presence, for, she remarked, "when we dont reach the *good in a* person, we feel sort as if we had tumbled against a hard stone wall."

Outside on the sidewalk she stood in the hot sun for a while, trying to get her bearings before striking out again for the Palmer House.

> Confusion prevailed, streets full of heavily laden express wagons and ice and milk carts, men hurrying in every direction. Not a woman to be seen so I walked straight ahead till I collected my senses. The smells were fearful. A thick heavy smoke hung over the town, and the weather like July. All of a sudden I remembered I was walking *away* from the Ladies Entrance of the G. Pacific Hotel, so I marched *back* and met a telegraph boy whom I asked *the way* to the Palmer? Said he, "Come on," I am going that way. The way I had to hurry to keep up with that chap, almost put me out of breath. When within a block, said he, thats it. I gave him a quarter, and as I had my purse out I stopped on the corner and bought a bannana. I stood and ate it under my umbrella. Before I entered the Palmer I peeled off my veil and duster. . . .

When she entered the corridor leading to her rooms a strange sight met her eyes. Men were thronging the hall and crowded the door of the parlor adjoining her bedroom. Pictures of Gresham covered the walls. Her man-

servant told her that the Gresham men had taken over the suite next door that morning as their headquarters, and slept in cots in the room just off her bedroom. Annette went at once to investigate.

> I went to my bath room and discovered a ventilating window of glass and wooden *slats* that are stationary and fixed, so I climbed up on my bath tub and surveyed the cots. It looked like a hospital ward. What a lovely place to peep and listen. I dare say they turn in late and are too tired out *to talk*. I shall show Mr. Clarkson the pretty view. He comes at 2 *this* P M to see me. . . . How funny that I should be thus sandwiched, in this big Hotel which will have 3000 guests by tomorrow.

While Annette waited for Clarkson she wrote at length to Allison of her day's activities, but she was much too fascinated with the prospect of eavesdropping on the Gresham managers to stay long at a time at her desk. She watched a Blaine parade pass by beneath her window, and "felt like firing my pitcher of ice water at them. . . ." She walked her parlor floor, went into the hall "a dozen times" to peek out of the corner of her eye into the Gresham rooms.

> There are two double beds in the room with American flags as bed-spread, pictures of yourself, one side of the looking glass and Sherman the other side and two little flags on top of glass. Alger, Harrison and Gresham are stuck about the room. Two men sit with their coats off, and four others seem to be talking and suffering with the heat. Men by twos and threes come down the hall and drop in as the door stands wide open, with a picture of Gresham on the door. Things seem to be pretty tame, not much talk. How I'd like to go and sit on the bureau and hear what they are about. They seem to be oldish men or else chaps about 22 or 25. They wear badges on their coats.

She made another attempt to finish the letter. "I guess I'll go again and see if there is anything new next door. . . . Been, no nothing only three more men. Very slow I think." To a woman of Annette's alarmist inclinations, the possibilities for intrigue seemed unlimited. Perhaps the idea of dinner parties was, as Drake had told her, "an exploded thing of the past," but there were the Gresham headquarters, placed by a beneficent providence just beyond her bathroom door.

Annette had arranged to be alone for Clarkson's call. She had sent Mrs. McLean off with the maid for a carriage drive; the train trip had been too

much for her, "she was pretty feeble, thinks Chicago unhealthy." So she had cleared the stage for Clarkson by encouraging her companion's disabilities, apparently a task of no great difficulty.

When five thirty came and Clarkson had not appeared, Annette began to lose patience. "No Clarkson yet." She had been waiting for him since two o'clock, to tell him of her visit to Drake. Perhaps he was taking her good offices too much for granted. "Confound Clarkson. Where under the sun is he. All sort of conjectures enter my head. He knows I am a good nest egg and will always be found, and on hand, so he need not turn up till he gets ready." She could wait until bedtime. Meantime Annette had decided what to do with the money she had planned to spend on her dinner parties. She put six five hundred dollar notes in an envelope to give to Clarkson when he came, to use in any way he chose to advance the Republican cause. She believed, "*red hot patriot*" that she was, that what she was doing was "for *my country*." She enquired, "Who dare stop me . . . if I see fit to *reach an influence* for the party with a gift instead of *down their throats*. . . ." This item in her operations would be "a secret and a part and parcel of 1888 Hicks Lord Campaign."[33] Clarkson did not come at all, but next morning Annette wrote him a note and sent the three thousand dollars along.

She made her plans for the morrow. There were to be interviews with both Drake and Foster. From one of them she was confident she could get the information she wanted about the Sherman organization's espionage. She would "pump Drake," and "sing the same Cock and Bull song to Foster." She would offer to make a generous contribution to the campaign, and then put them off with the excuse that "we women require time for consideration. . . ." There was nothing improper, so far as she could see, in making use of people who desired "to bleed and use" her.

She noticed an increased nervous tension as rival organizations set up headquarters in Chicago and began the fight for convention votes. Indeed, the letters from Annette to Allison show that the political excitement in Chicago was already having a noticeable effect upon this none-too-steady woman. Her letters were the chief outlet for her accumulating emotional intensity. "I shall get ill if I don't unburden myself to some one, so I dare to pitch ahead as I do and keep you posted with the doings, this end of the

[33] *Idem.*

line. . . . I am getting so excited, I would like to scream, and roll on the floor, or turn head over heels, or lick some-body."

When Annette wrote to Allison on Sunday she had to confess that her "second visit to Drake bore no results," for the Sherman leader had been so heavily pressed by the crowds in the hotel that he had had no opportunity to confer with her. She felt, however, that she had made better headway with Foster, but her account to Allison of the interview does not indicate just what reason she had for encouragement. Yet, to Annette's mind, she had "been, gone and done it up brown." When she reached the Grand Pacific that morning, Drake brought Foster over to her and excused himself on the ground that he was being deluged by others who wanted to see him. "Off he flew, like an old hen with her head cut off." Annette gave Foster her note of introduction from General Sherman, and told him of her Ohio connections. "Said he, enough! enough! Madam, we all know Mrs. Hicks Lord, and I regard our meeting as an interesting *combination* of circumstances. Your moneyed interests *bind* you to Ohio. The Shermans think much of you. Why, Drake tells me, you are a Sherman *man*."

Annette explained to him that she had come to Chicago "on a spree." She was on her way to her Ohio estates, and never having seen a convention nor taken any part in politics she wanted to watch what was going on and participate in it if there were anything she could do. Like Drake, Foster discouraged the dinner parties and asked for funds. Annette could not understand why they needed so much money. Foster told her. "Drake is working for *money*. He keeps this hotel to make *money*, and not for love. Said I, do you mean to tell me, those 21 States I see on that big printed notice stuck up there by the Elevator, with all their Delegates are under *this* roof. Said he, *yes*, and *there* is where the money goes. Too much said I."

She wanted to see a delegation room and asked Foster to take her up to one. He consented, gave her his arm, and ushered her upstairs, where she saw

> . . . the battle ground of the struggle. Not a woman was to be seen; all men, with badges and button holeing each other, smoking, and pretty well wound up, although not quite ten o'clock. The Sherman rooms had a great deal of the Spread-Eagle in every direction. He pointed out Arkansas, Iowa and other Delegation rooms, said I, now show *me our Ohio* room. I did not dare even

> turn my head to squint at Iowa. I could see it was chuck full of men by looking side ways. We went up stairs and there were at least 6 rooms, not very large any of them all *for Ohio.*

When they returned to the lobby, they took a place where Drake had assigned them, on a sofa under the hall stairs. Annette wanted to attract as little attention as possible and became a bit annoyed with the Governor when he insisted on making himself conspicuous by refusing to put on his hat. To Foster she said, "Gov, you know this is all business." She told him how much she appreciated his courtesy in showing her around the headquarters. In case she should feel inclined to make a contribution to the Sherman campaign she wanted to know to whom to address it. Either Drake or himself would be glad to receive it, the Governor said. Still with his hat off, he took her to the door.

Out in the street, Annette put on her duster and veil to conceal her French hat and dress, and pushed through the crowds on her way back to the Palmer House. The steady arrival of convention delegates had by Sunday made Chicago a place of confusion. Jostling along the sidewalk, she

> . . . heard a jolly nigger laugh ready to hurt himself over a delapidated old horse and wagon old harness and muddy wheels, all he could get *"for a delegate to ride in."* As I passed the front entrance there were two policemen each side of door, a fearful crowd of roughs stood in front and on side walk, some just arrived. I knew my way home to the Palmer, but when within three blocks along came a *fire engine* slam bang. The usual rush and crowd following. I jumped up on a boot-blacks high throne, and gave him half a dollar to let me stand there. His heart was touched and he said in the most patronizing tones, "dont be scared."

But in spite of all the excitement along Michigan Boulevard, Annette reached her rooms safely. She put on a "cool clean white dress," kissed Mrs. McLean good morning, and told her she had just come from her devotions. Then she wrote to Allison.

After lunch she dressed to await Clarkson, whom she had invited to drive with her that afternoon. She felt now that, "as far as I can see, I have come to the *end* of my rope for my candidate. . . ." Her advices to Allison take on a tone of pessimism which had been totally absent from her earlier communications. Perhaps her failure to find anything she could do

for Allison's candidacy except give money is an explanation. After what she had seen with Foster at the Grand Pacific, she thought it best "to educate myself to accept what comes, if it is disappointment." Whatever she had done for Allison, it was not, she insisted, with any ulterior purpose.

> My dear Senator Allison, if I have overwhelmed you with my long letters excuse me. I do nothing by halves. . . . It frightens me when I think of the lengths I have gone, and what a dead set I have made at poor you. Believe me I have nothing to ask for in the gift of our Govt, no claims and no one to place.

She would not write again until after the convention. "Confound Clarkson." He would have to report the substance of his conference with Annette himself.[34]

Allison heard nothing more from Annette until she wrote the day of Harrison's nomination and described the scene in the convention when David B. Henderson of Iowa arose to announce the withdrawal of Allison's name. When the convention opened Monday morning Annette was in the gallery with Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Clarkson, and Mrs. McLean. Blissfully unaware of the activity of such men as Platt, Elkins, Hoar, and Depew behind the scenes of the convention, Henderson's statement came as a great blow to Annette.

> I wanted to jump over the gallery, and walk over the heads of the Delegates, throw myself on Genl Hendersons shoulders, and cry for it came *without* any preparation. I braced myself up, took poor Mrs. Clarksons hand, told her *to smile* and drown her emotions and not show *the world* she cared a darn. There she sat, lips partly open, eyes gazing at Gen. H. as though he had knocked her on the head.
>
> I bit my lip till the *blood came*, and when Gen Henderson made his address on the platform I tore my pocket handkerchief into small slits *underneath my fan* and smiled all the time.
>
> I leaned over to Mrs. Henderson, who sat bolt upright, no emotion and when I said to her, what an ordeal for your husband, Senator Allison took the chances of war, let us laugh, and we all laughed and used our fans to fan away our feelings.

Annette covered her disappointment by continuing a flirtation she had been carrying on with delegates on the floor of the convention. "I became quite jolly, as I have four Delegates who have been making eyes at me during

[34] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 17, 1888.

this convention and as I sat with the Iowa ladies, and you are a single man, my hilarity became infectious and Mrs. C and Mrs. H and Mrs. McL and myself were all up to snuff."

Clarkson looked "furiously mad," but she shook her head at him and Henderson and made them smile. For herself, Annette was determined to maintain a bold front. She held back the tears. When the nomination of Harrison became certain, Sherman's niece, Rachel Sherman, wept. But not Annette; ". . . before I'd have done that," she insisted, "I'd had fifteen fits."[35]

Annette commiserated with Allison in his defeat and congratulated him on "the brave, manly, plucky manner you have met your disappointments."[36] As if it were of any comfort to him, she pointed out how many "grave cares and responsibilities" he had escaped. In a way she thought he was fortunate to have avoided the fate which overtook Arthur in the presidency, for she feared that he "would have died a premature death and perhaps not gone to Heaven." How Annette had informed herself about Arthur's post-presidential career she does not relate. She was convinced that Allison would "keep" until 1892, because the press had taken a most favorable attitude toward his unselfish withdrawal in the interest of party. "Your action was a plucky one, so like you [she wrote]. How splendid to take things *this way* what discipline! what a lesson in self restraint — what an example to those statesmen who admire you. . . ."

Finally, Annette urged Allison to try to get away from his work for a day or two, for she realized what a severe strain he had been under while the convention was in session. If he could come to New York, she thought she could give him details of the convention which would make him laugh. If not that, there was some relaxation and release to be found at the seashore. Even Coney Island might amuse him. But the chief thing now was to save himself for the campaign, in which he would, of course, have to take a part. It was to this end that she was assuming the position of "your self imposed sister," and she hoped she could still be of service to him.

Putting party above any personal attachment Annette may have felt for Allison, she determined to plunge into the campaign for the election of Harrison. "I shall work for the Republicans just as hard as I know how. The cause still exists. My patriotism is greater than ever, and to see the

[35] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 25, 1888.
[36] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, July 1, 1888.

Democrats out of power will be the [illegible] aim and purpose of my existence till Nov. You see I had got to the top notch, living here in Chicago." Allison, too, promised to work for a party victory in the election. In his letter of congratulation he assured Harrison that he was "ready to enlist under your banner and fight until victory comes."

Annette was still of the opinion that between them she and Mother Dahlgreen could bring much of the Irish vote into the Republican column. At first she was afraid Mrs. Dahlgreen might cause Allison some embarrassment by inviting him to her home in Washington at a time when she too was to be there. Annette advised him not to accept. She acknowledged her friend's good intentions, but thought "it would be horrid."[37]

Her holiday over at Chicago, Annette made plans at once for the return trip to New York. This time the jaunt was to be made in easier stages, with overnight stops at Detroit and Niagara Falls; Annette did not look forward to an early repetition of her somewhat hectic trip west on the Pullman. With Mrs. McLean she arrived home again Thursday evening. When she reached her house at 32 Washington Square she found all of her servants lined up in the hall to welcome her home. She took one quick look, then ran upstairs to her room, flung herself down upon the bed and wept. In this moment she realized that these were her most intimate personal associates. Servants and a few close friends were all she had. If she had hoped that her interest in Allison's political future might yield some small returns in friendship for herself, her attitude is an understandable one.

For the next few weeks Annette busied herself with preparations for her trip abroad. She had promised to postpone it, had Allison been nominated; now she thought she would go and stay until after election, evidently forgetting her earlier promise to "work for the Republicans . . . till Nov." But she had barely reached Paris when she realized that it would not do. "Just now, I think I did wrong to come away," she wrote Allison, "and as it was to emancipate myself, even for a few weeks. I feel as if the campaign were a sick child I had left behind me." It soon became apparent to Annette that she was "*not going to hold out*," and she concluded that "staying this side of the Atlantic until after election was all nonsense." She therefore arranged earlier passage to New York; she was homesick,

[37] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, June 25, July 1, 1888. Allison to Harrison, June 26, 1888, in *Harrison Papers*, Vol. 29.

and had "the political fever" worse than ever. She had invited Allison and all of his convention leaders to visit her; Clarkson, in fact, was living even then at her house while working at the headquarters of the National Committee. We leave Annette in Paris, waiting impatiently for her sailing date, and eager to begin participation in the campaign.

> I now write [she concludes her last letter to Allison] to say I am enroute for home and when I arrive Sept 23 I want our Mr. Clarkson to tell me how to work to secure the *vote for our party* in N. Y. in my district in N. Y. The working classes all like me; the Park police and street police and grocer boys, milk men, post-men and every Thanksgiving Day 50 fat turkeys are distributed among them and the poor of the district. How to get at them and reach them is the question fore election day. I have other tricks and projects to get votes but must have a Boss to direct my doings.[38]

Whether Annette made any personal contribution to the Republican victory in New York in November does not appear in the Allison Papers. But her correspondence during the period of the convention and after shows the political scene through somewhat different eyes than those of the party manager or newspaper reporter.

[38] Mrs. Hicks Lord to Allison, August 31, 1888.

DOCUMENTS

Letters of Jerome Carskaddan, 1853-1854

Compiled by J. C. Bishop

Jerome Carskaddan, who wrote these letters when he was 24, came from a family which had lived in New York State since the 1850's. Both grandfathers and at least two of his great-grandfathers had served in the Revolutionary forces. He was raised on the family farm near Durhamville, Oneida County, and as a boy worked on the farm and stripped bark for use in his father's tannery. He attended school at Oneida, then entered Hamilton College at Clinton, New York, from which he was graduated in July, 1851. Among his classmates and fraternity brothers there was Charles Dudley Warner, who later became a well-known author, and who is frequently referred to in these letters.

After leaving school Jerome studied in the office of a law firm in Oneida, usually walking the four miles daily from his father's farm. After being admitted to the practice of law in New York State he started for Iowa in the spring of 1853, to locate a likely spot in which to settle and practice his profession. These letters form a complete series from the time he started west until he returned a year later to marry the girl to whom they were written.

Marilla Brown also came from a farm family, from an adjoining county. During the period covered by their correspondence she lived part of the time with her parents near Morrisville, but mainly with a married sister, Adelia Wells, at Oneida Castle, a few miles south of Oneida.

The marriage of Jerome and Marilla took place at Oneida Castle on May 1, 1854, and they moved west to Muscatine, where they remained together until his death in 1912, hers following less than a year later.

These letters to "Rilla" are those of a lonesome young man to his lady love, telling of his life in a strange, new, and still rough settlement. Many of the early pioneer characters were still there, and those who were later to become its leading citizens were then arriving. Th boom was on — the population of the county nearly doubled between 1852 and 1856. That his

start was a sound one is shown by the fact that for nearly sixty years he was one of the leaders of the Muscatine bar, and was among the organizers of many of the city's early business firms. In 1857 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Muscatine County; in 1862 he became county judge, an office which he held until 1864. He served as local attorney for the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway for almost fifty years and for ten years was on the board of directors of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern Railway. In 1907 he was president of the First Trust and Savings Bank of Muscatine and also a director of the First National Bank of that city.[1]

No doubt Marilla's letters to Jerome would be equally interesting, but sometime during her married life she carefully destroyed them all.

Chicago, May 5, 1853

Here I am thus far on my journey safe & sound though a day behind time. We were detained some five hours by a smash up of the train ahead of us a few miles east of Buffalo. We should have reached B. at 6 & did not untill eleven. The Steamer left at 2 A. M. & landed us in Detroit tuesday night at 8 — the train for this place had left so we had to stay over untill yesterday morning — that too was behind time, but finally brought [us] in at 8 last eve.

I haven't a single accident to tell of — only delays. Old lake Erie was as smooth as glass, but the fog was so thick that nothing could be seen. Before we landed in Detroit it began raining & has kept at the business ever since with remarkable pertinacity. The sky is as tearful as your eyes were when we parted, or as mine were the minute after.

I wish you were here to see this place — though I fear it would make you sick of the west. Away off on the Atlantic shore of this great land lies the Empire City — on the gulf of Mexico rises & shines the Crescent City — & this of all towns in the world is entitled to the appellation of Mud City. There is mud, mud, everywhere. Nothing to be seen but mud except Dutch women, & there is not much of them visible but mud. It seems as if all the gutters & sewers of the earth emptied here. But it is a great rich & growing place — though I think not the place for me.

I have found three old college friends, lawyers — & am now writing to

[1] Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa* (Des Moines, 1916), 402.

you in the office of Anthony & Miller. The first is a *sig* & classmate of Kinneys — the last a psi upsilon. They say that every week they meet with young New Yorkers pouring into this region, & wonder if there are to be any left behind to take care of the old fogies.

All creation does seem to be moving west. They give me rather favorable reports of Davenport — better than I expected to hear.

I shall start out on the Chicago and Rock Island railroad tonight or tomorrow morning — but when I shall reach Davenport I can not tell. I may go down to St Louis — instead of taking a stage across. I can't tell which I shall do untill I get to the end of the railroad.[2] As soon as I do get to D. I will write again.

I wonder, my dear girl, if you have wished me back at Oneida, since I left you, as often as I have wished that you were journeying along with me. You must keep your courage up. We will have a home in some place on the earth yet. . . .

Good bye untill I speak to you from the other side of the Mississippi.

Davenport, Ia. May 12./53

After many windings & turnings, my crooked path has at last brought me to Davenport. At the urgent solicitation of Miller (I spoke of him in my note to you from Chicago) I remained at C. untill saturday morning — then took the cars for Peru where I arrived at one P. M. & learning that the roads across the country were almost impassible from some travellers who had just reached P from Rock Island I went on board the steamer "Garden City," & took passage for St Louis. I got there Monday morning & remained there untill nearly night & then started for this place in the "New St Paul." St Louis is a grand city. I liked it very much, a great deal better than I did Chicago. I think it merits the appellation old Tom Benton gave it in one of his best speeches — "the towering City of St Louis."

I landed here at five o'clock yesterday & not untill I had brushed & washed off some of the stains of travel, & drank a cup of *tea* instead of coffee, not because I liked it but simply out of regard for your taste, & had walked upon the bluff back of the town — not till then did I have a realising sense of the fact that I had left home & friends far behind me, &

[2] The Rock Island had built westward from Chicago as far as Peru, Illinois, on the Illinois River, by April of 1853. See F. J. Nevins, "Seventy Years of Service," *Rock Island Magazine*, 17:13 (October, 1922).

had placed myself, whether for good or ill the future alone can tell, a stranger in a strange land. But it was a beautiful scene I looked upon — let me picture it to you as well as I can with this poor pencil. The ground I stood on has an elevation of fifty or sixty feet, directly in front at its foot lies Davenport, a little way upstream is Rock Island with two or three pretty looking residences upon it — On the opposite shore is Rock Island City, about as large as D. — beyond R. I. City scattered up & down the bluff are a number of beautiful residences & between Rock Island City & Davenport the father of waters rolls his flood along towards the gulf of Mexico — in himself a richer mine of wealth to America than California with all her gold. The eye can follow the course of the river for miles down. Seeing all this as I saw it for the first time, & with a clear sunset lighting up the scene, it was beautiful.

The City of Davenport, there are nothing but cities in this country, is scattered along between the bluff & the river & has already begun climbing the bluff — it of course looks new. The buildings with but few exceptions are small, but it is rapidly improving & its business increasing.

I like the place well, but it is filled to the brim with young lawyers. Yet I do not much fear to settle here and battle with them.

I have not yet determined upon staying here, but I think I shall do so — this is the shire town of the County, Scott Co. & there is to be a term of District Court here next week. I shall attend that & get acquainted with all the lawyers I can, & find out as much as possible about the country & its good points, & also get admitted to the bar of the State of Iowa. I may possibly learn of a better opening, but I know that it will be impossible to find a more beautiful location in the whole state. You would love it I know. You couldn't help it. . . .

Muscatine, June 2d /53

I found your kind & welcome letter waiting for me at Davenport last saturday evening, on my return from a foot-tramp back in the country — and you will have to be a stranger in a strange land, & receive a letter from me, before you can understand the eagerness & delight with which I read & re-read it. Now for a short history of my doings since I wrote you. I remained at D. some ten days, in order to get acquainted with the locality, its people & its prospects, & to attend the Dist. Court, & I came to the con-

clusion that it was not the place for me. Its location is beautiful, & when you have said that, you have said about all — like most beautiful places, there is an air of laziness hanging over it & a lack of energy in it. And more than half its population is composed of raw dutchmen who can not speak a word of english.

Its business is inconsiderable — its law business might possibly support four lawyers well — there are eighteen to share it, rather a blank prospect for a newcomer. I thought I would see what the back country was made of, so I swung my carpet bag over my shoulder & started, & at the end of two days found myself seventy five miles inland. I went through three counties, & I saw a land wild enough to suit an Indian — sometimes I would walk for miles with nothing to be seen on either hand but the wavelike rolling of the prairie — no tree no shrub, & no living thing but birds, save here & there a rattle snake who would raise his head dart out his tongue & shake his rattle to warn me that I was infringing on his domain & must step aside or get bit. The inhabitants are settled mostly by patches of timber & small streams, but this prairie land is as rich a soil as can be found in the world, & will ere many years be brought under the rule of the plough. I found no villages except the county seats, & those were small, but they are growing. I was urged very strongly to settle at Anamosa in Jones Co. a little place fifty miles from Dubuque, & was almost persuaded to do so, but it would be too much like going beyond the reach of civilization, & I could not bear the thought of ever taking you to such a place.

So I turned my face towards Davenport & got there saturday night, none the worse for a week's tramp. Last monday I put myself & my luggage on board a steamer & came down to this place, & here I shall remain. I like it the best of any place I have seen in Iowa.

It is a somewhat larger place than D. has a great deal more capital, & at least five times as much business. Muscatine is a real western town — full of true western life & energy — its inhabitants are nearly all Americans, I should think not more than one fifth of them foreigners — & that is a very small proportion for a town on the river. There are not so many lawyers here as at Davenport & there is a great deal more law business, so the Judge and the bar tell me. The Dist. Court was in session here when I came. I went to the Court House immediately & as soon as the lawyers found out I was a brother in the trade they invited me to a seat within the

bar, & altogether treated me as courteously as a stranger could be treated. They showed none of that jealousy which is so often found in the east, but on the contrary urged me to look no further, & to settle down among them, be one of them, & go in for a share of the rapidly increasing business.

I have accepted their invitation — do you not think I have done well to accept it, to stop among such lawyers, & in such a town as I have described? I have this morning engaged an office, the room in which I am now writing — it is a very pleasant second story room, over a banking house, on the best business street of the city.

I suppose you would like to know how Muscatine looks. In point of beauty its *location* is inferior to that of Davenport. The bluff here runs down almost to the rivers edge, not very steep, but there is very little flat, or bottom as they term it here, between the bluff & the river, & then it is cut up in every shape & direction by deep ravines, but these ravines are fast being filled up, & if the place goes on growing, it will in a few years present a gradual & well graded slope from the bluffs to the river. At the downstream end of the town the bluff rises abruptly from the river thirty or forty feet & on its level top there are a large number of as fine residences as one could wish to see — commanding a fine view of the river & the city.

There is no place on the opposite shore & that I think is a great advantage to the business of this place. As far as buildings are concerned there are forty fine ones here to one at D.

Such is the place I have pitched upon as my home.

I like the west — it is so full of energy, so full of life. The business in this country is done by young men, the posts of honor & profit are filled by young men. The Judge of this District, & his position corresponds with that of a N. Y. Supreme Ct. Judge when holding a circuit, is not yet thirty. If such a thing should be in N. York it would drive the old fogies crazy.

I am glad I have come to the west. If patient industry & a firm resolve can bring me success, *I will succeed.*

They say that eastern men are apt to get lazy in this country — you need not fear for me in that respect, for I am so impatient to fold you to my heart, & call you by the blessed name of "wife," to have a little home cheered by your smiles, and made dear by your love, that I could not sink into sloth if I would. . . .

But I must close this long letter, & indeed this pen, feeble in the begin-

ning, cannot endure much longer. Remember me to our mutual friends, love me always, and write me soon. . . .

P. S. You will find Muscatine laid down on most of the maps as Bloomington — the name was changed a few years ago to Muscatine.

Muscatine, June 23d, 1853.

I have just got through the heat, dust & struggle of my first law suit in Iowa. It was a two days trial — three of the best lawyers of this place were engaged upon it — it was a case that occasioned considerable excitement & the court room was crowded — we used up half a day in summing up. My friends here tell me that my speech has placed me ahead of all the younger members of the bar in the estimation of community — & will ensure me business.

This is a little matter in itself Dearest, but then I know that any good fortune that has happened to me will not be unwelcome news to you. This suit was a hard one to try — no power on earth could have saved me from being beaten, but one *such defeat* is worth a dozen common victories. Tell Doolittle that I have defended an action of slander, that my client was clearly guilty, and that the jury found for the plaintiff *ten dollars.*

So Adelia has taken the responsibility of introducing another little stranger into this vale of tears. . . . She would do to come west. The women of Iowa are certainly the most prolific I have ever had the pleasure of seeing — ten is the very least number of children one can expect to find in a house in this country. A fresh healthy looking lady at Davenport, with whom I became slightly acquainted, showed me her youngest treasure, a wee thing, & very frankly told me it was her fifteenth — "My God, Madam" said I, "how old are you." "Thirty six" said she.

I think, Rilla, you will have to discard some of your peculiar notions if you ever expect to cope with these western mothers in Israel. . . .

Send my most dutiful love to our dear old Grandmother, & tell her that her grandson is very well pleased with the west, but he thinks that her antiquated, seventy-years-ago notions would be terribly shocked if her venerable and palsy-shaken form should venture this side of the great father of floods. Men do shoot each other here sometimes & walk "unwhipped of justice." . . .

Ah, here comes my chum, tripping nimbly along, looking happy as can

be — who & what do you suppose he is — he is as fine a little mouse as ever flourished a tail, and he trots up to me and around me as fearless as if he was monarch of all he surveyed. We are on the best terms imaginable — there is a covenant between us. He is never to make his appearance when there is any one in the office with me, and when he does enter I am to keep perfectly still. He sometimes walks slowly over my lawbooks, as if conscious of the deep and learned gravity of their contents. I think of presenting him for admission to the bar at the next term of Court. . . .

July 10th 1853

My mail bag was full yesterday morning — besides your letter, there was one from Clarence, one from James Stewart, & one from Charlie Warner. . . . Jim writes that he is digging gold steadily & successfully — he sent me a sample of the *dust* that leads so many thousands from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore. Charlie's letter was long and glorious. . . . He makes many inquiries, such as "Why did you come west — & where is Marilla — & where is the wedding — & where are your manners." . . . He and Henry Dakin are tramping along the line of the contemplated railroad from Hannibal to Josephs [St. Joseph], Missouri — through a country that has but little to boast of in the way of civilization. . . .

I have but little news to tell you of myself & my doings — this is a dull time of year in law business every where — east & west — but I am getting some business, & am very busily extending my acquaintance as rapidly & as widely as possible in this place & the adjoining country. My proffession is the slowest & the hardest one in the world to start in — but I have done more since I have been here than I could reasonably have expected & have nothing to complain of. The fourth passed off very quietly in Muscatine. There were a couple of Sabbath school celebrations, & the usual burning of powder & firing of crackers by the younger portion of young America — and a ball in the evening — at the latter some dispute about a girl arose between a couple of prairie bloods, & one of them drew a revolver, but it was snatched from his hand, and their wrath vented itself in harmless curses — both of them *tight* — the girl must have felt herself honored. . . .

[July 30, 1853]

I have not much news to write you this time. The life of a man who

lives in his office has but little incident in it. The City Council a short time ago appointed me Recorder of the City. The office will bring me some money — will not take much of my time to attend to it, & will get me acquainted more rapidly than any other means. I think it will be of material benefit to me. I think I can look upon myself as having been very fortunate since my arrival here. I have taken a better stand & already gained more confidence in the minds of [the] community than some young lawyers who have been here a year or two. One of these latter gentlemen is about pulling up stakes & going to Iowa City, he despairs of ever doing anything here. I should think he ought to despair of succeeding anywhere in the law.

But the best assurance I have of the good opinion the Muscatine people have formed of me, is the fact that two of the old lawyers have been persuading me to leave this place & go to Dubuque or Burlington — rather a significant move I call that. I answered them very quietly "I think I shall try it here a while longer."

But I must confess that their cool impudence surprised me. However, one must not be surprised at anything in the impudent line in this country. I very much fear you will not like the west very well — refinement, courtesy, gentlemanly & ladylike manner & breeding, are but little known or cared for here. I fear you will miss the Oneidas, Rilla — men come to the west to make money, & not to cultivate the social graces, & they pay little attention to anything but making money.

But I hope you and I will be satisfied with each other's society — so that we shall not need to call upon our neighbors to help us be happy.

August 13, 1853

Now do you want to hear what I did on the eve of commencement day: and about the Iowa girls

I dont know as I am acting very wisely in telling you, one of the girls advised me not to — and perhaps she was right. Howsomever — here goes. You see I had an invitation to a party given by Miss Washburn on that night & here note down the fact that I had never seen Miss Washburn, but I supposed it was the western way of doing things, so I went. I, being a total stranger, took no active part, but quietly made the acquaintance of a few who seemed to be the most sensible of the company, & watched the

manners & doings of those who *went it*. And they did *went it*. The company there consider themselves the "elite" of this town. And judging from what I saw there, I should say that the western girls do not lack courage, or coarseness. That Miss Gilruth . . . seemed to me to be [the] best girl in the crowd. Well, nothing particular happened at the party — the devil (excuse me) is to come yet.

Now there is a young lawyer here from Maine.[3] I first met him at Davenport, he is a droll fellow, but I like him. He boards opposite Washburn's, knew Miss W. before the party, & Miss G. also. Miss G. is a Davenport lady & was visiting Miss W. Monday night after the party, Thayer, this lawyer, brought an invitation from the two Misses for me to call, so we brushed our hair & went, & passed away an hour or so very pleasantly; but I found out to my satisfaction, in this interview, that Miss W. was pretty much a goose, continually squawking, though she is quite good looking. Thayer, just as we were leaving, proposed that we should all go up on the lower bluff to a swing on the next Wednesday eve. I could not very well decline — Wednesday came & we went. Thayer with Miss W. & I with Miss G. While returning from the swing, Thayer, the rascal, proposed that on the next Saturday afternoon we all take a ride. Miss W. of course clapped her hands and jumped at the offer, and urged Miss G. to go. Well, what could I do under the circumstances, but say, "I should be very happy, &c" — and what could Miss G. do, (though somewhat taken aback, & blushing to the tip of her nose) but consent.

Saturday we all took a ride — Miss G. & myself being together as before. We drove to a tavern out on the prairie, a very pleasant place about ten miles from town. Staid there a couple of hours, took tea, & drove home again — like to have had a runaway & break down, but didn't. Last Monday Miss G. went home. Now, would you like to know what sort of a girl this Miss G. is? She is not handsome, but has a kind & intelligent eye, & good natured & sensible look generally. She is the daughter of a Methodist clergyman, & religious all over. She is modest & evidently sincere: I think half of our conversation was on religious topics. She talked to me like a little saint. During the latter part of our ride I made some laughing allusion to our intimacy on so short an acquaintance, & said that I didn't know

[3] Edward H. Thayer and Jerome Carskaddan formed a law partnership in 1856, which was dissolved the following year when Thayer was elected County Judge, and Carskaddan the Prosecuting Attorney.

how it would be taken by a little blue eyed damsel in the Empire State. Said she, "I guess you had better not say anything about it to her" "No, no" said I, "I shall tell her all I know about you the next time I write." She vowed revenge by describing me the next time *she wrote*. And so we parted — how do you like her. You may know her one of these days, & I think you will like her then. . . .

It is hot here as a fiery furnace — the thermometer standing at a hundred & two in the shade. Coats, vests and cravats are discarded alike by the ton[4] and the rowdies; & the men of Muscatine walk listlessly to and fro, exhibiting a striking & scanty equality in the quantity of clothing worn by them. I follow the fashion & go dressed as I would in a hayfield. And the women go dressed — oh, la — half of them do not seem to wear anything but those loose dresses, that is, at home. You can go barefoot as much as you please in this country & there will be none to molest or make you afraid. . . . People here do just as they have a mind to in all respects, & knock anybody down who presumes to interfere. But still they are adepts in the art of scandal. There seems to be nothing too high or too holy for them to ridicule or cast slurs upon.

August 29, 1853

I have not been out amongst 'em but once since I wrote you. Last Wednesday I recd a pressing invitation to spend the day at the residence of Judge Williams, the Chief Justice of the State.[5] He lives five miles from town. I went & had a very pleasant time. The two Misses Mason, nieces of the Judge, were there. I spoke of one of them, Kate, in a former letter, and the Judge has a daughter, a very good girl, & a very good singer. Anna Mason rode home in town, with me, & I wound up the day's work by spending the evening in company with one of the Williams boys at Mason's.

Every other day for nearly two weeks I have been busy at the Court House, hunting up old musty land titles, preparatory to commencing about forty suits in the District Court.

Business is coming to me pretty fast. A young lawyer has recently been elected prosecuting attorney for this county, & as he is rather inexperienced

[4] "Bon ton" or elite.

[5] Joseph Williams, appointed to the Supreme Court of the territory of Iowa in 1838 by President Martin Van Buren, served on the Court as Associate and Chief Justice, until 1855. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches . . .*, 37–45.

he wants some help, & has agreed to employ me to assist him in the criminal business. If I can make a few good strikes at the next term of court, in October, in the way of speech making, I shall be up in the world at once, & stand a very good chance to get the office of Prosecuting Atty myself next year. But this is counting chickens before they are hatched. . . .

Sept. 10, 1853

You know when we parted, that we fixed no time for meeting again & joining our fates together. . . . I could not then tell whether success or failure would be the fruit of my going forth into a new & strange country, and you generously and trustingly said that you would patiently wait untill I could so far establish myself in business as to be reasonably sure of ample support for us both. . . . I can not yet say when the day of its fulfillment will be. Much depends upon the fortune I meet with at our next term in October. If I do well then, I shall have attained a certain & sure position, though can not in any event make much money then. It is impossible for a young lawyer and a stranger, to get business of much importance, business that will pay well, within the first year of his residence in a location new to him.

Charlie [Warner] is being bitten by the mosquitos of western Missouri. It is no small credit to him, that amid the roughness of prairie life & camping out, he finds time to work some with his pen — and write articles that find admission into the pages of "Putnam" — the first magazine in America — If you see the September no. read "Salt Lake & the New Saratoga" — that is his — though it is not as good as he can write, and I mean to tell him so. . . . Lester is now superintending the building of a railroad bridge across the Fox river, near Geneva, Ill. — his salary is $650. per year. . . . Pope is doing well — gets $1000 per year. He has charge of a company — is now in New Brunswick — I will send this in his envelope, & you will see what I never saw before, an english postage stamp. . . .

Oct. 4, 1853

I will tell you just how business is here — law business — all through the summer it is dull — in the fall, about this time it begins to be more brisk & continues so untill spring again. So if I should be absent in the fall or winter, I should lose business. That is one reason why I can not

very well see you this fall — Another reason is that I have a debt to pay next spring, of three hundred dollars. And it would cost at least 150, or 200 dollars for us to get established here housekeeping — And if I should lay out as much money as that I am afraid I could not meet that liability in the spring. . . .

Oct. 18, 1853

. . . Rilla, *do, do* be careful of your health, do not expose yourself to danger from the cold & storms unnecessarily — for in coming west you will come into a new climate, different from what you have always been accustomed to, & you will need all the physical strength you can muster to meet it without danger. The saddest things I have seen in the west, are the graveyards, so full of the graves of young wives. Now do give some heed to what I say, & not laugh at it as you used to, and go on your wild way as carelessly & recklessly as ever. . . .

[Nov. 7, 1853]

Although I wrote you so lately, I can not resist the impulse to address you a few lines tonight. I am all alone in my office, & likely to be the entire evening, for out of doors the wind howls, & the cold sleety rain drives down with a vengeance. A client's *case* must indeed be a bad one to make him visit an Attorney's office this night. I wonder what you are doing now. . . .

Yesterday, the sixth, the clock of my life struck twenty four. I wonder if I shall see the coming & going of twenty four more years in this world — I 'spect not. . . .

P. S. You ask me how far it is from Oneida to Muscatine. I'll put on my overcoat & go down to the bookstore & find out; — Back again, dark out of doors, muddy, oh!! bookstore closed, — from an atlas in Uncle Joe's store I set down the said distance to be about 970 miles, might as well call it a thousand.

Nov. 18, 1853

I will not be behind hand in answering your kind letter that has this morning reached me, — but you have run a narrow risk of not hearing from me for a month to come. Day before yesterday I *almost* started for Coun-

cil Bluff on the Missouri river, about four hundred and fifty miles from here. I would have been obliged to make the journey on horseback. But the men upon whose business I thought of going, refused to pay me my price for the trip, so I refused to go. . . .

How I do like interruptions when writing letters. For the last half hour I have been obliged to play the agreeable to a Pennsylvanian just landed on our shores, and it has interfered with the thread of my discourse terribly, knocked several witty conceits out of my head, & otherwise disturbed my equanimity. . . .

Tell little Mary that uncle Rome would be glad to accept her invitation to a feast on pumpkin pie, for he is getting very tired of the tavern tables in this country, & is fearful of starving before spring. If, when I am at the table, I had the power of forgetting the greasy, dirty, petticoated things who rule the kitchen, I think my appetite would increase amazingly. I am afraid I shall eat myself to death when I can sit down every day to a meal of your cooking. In that case the coroner's jury will have to return a queer verdict — "died of the excellency of his wife's cooking." . . .

Rill, don't you believe it would be a good idea for us to leave our correspondence to our children to be published, one of these days? . . .

Nov. 25, 1853

. . . I must do a little *pencilling* this time, for my last grey goose quill expired yesterday with a scratch & a blot, as I was writing a legal notice. . . . Last night Mr. Thayer delivered a lecture before the Franklin Library Association, & I felt obliged to attend that. I don't know that I was exactly obliged to accompany Kate Mason to the lecture & home again — but I did. I would like to see you & Kate together, I am thinking you would kick up fun, for she is about as lively as you are when you feel like jumping over the bro[o]mstick. . . .

I am glad to learn even the little you tell me about your health — tell me what you weigh, but be careful and do not weigh more than I, for such a proceeding would be altogether wrong, you know. The last time I stepped on a scale I believe I came up to the enormous mark of 123. Pretty good that, for a full grown young gentleman five feet ten in height. . . .

Nov. 30, 1853

. . . Why can not you help me, since I have tried to help you. I have

to deliver an address to the Library Association the 21st of next month. The subject I have taken is "The east & the west" — a pretty wide subject. And I have written just one page, & not a word about east or west either. Suppose you help me — I may not have time to do as well as I can, which is but poorly, at the best. . . .

Dec. 7, 1853

. . . I was engaged all day [yesterday] in trying a suit; & last evening the city council had a meeting, where my presence was needed as recorder; & after that was over I had to make out some papers for a railroad company. I tumbled into bed at half past two this morning — wasn't that a full day's work? . . .

How much have you written on my lecture? If you should happen to forget to send me your composition, let this jog your memory, & make you post along sans delay. If you don't I shall — well, I'll consult Kate & see what she thinks is best to be done with so refractory & altogether unreasonable a girl. And give me a woman to punish a woman — they always know when & where to strike.

. . . just hear me, Cupid, my gentle mistress tells me I am in love with a kitchen girl of the American House!!! Horrible!

Let me reckon up & see what I should be in love with, if the American House girl was my adored Dulcinea. I had a glympse of one of the sweet birds, just before dinner yesterday. Here is the sum total of the charms, unto her, appendant & appurtenant. A head of hair, of indescribable color, that has not seen a brush for three months — a pug nose — a brick complexion — two ankles as thick as my knee, resembling in shape & hue two huge potatoes, & not by any means guilty of stockings — As near as I can guess, without actual examination, one petticoat, the rags & tatters of which hang in graceful festoons around the aforesaid potatoe ankles — and one very old & very dirty calico dress, that is torn in front where the *cotton* ought to be, and that doesn't meet in the back by an inch, an inch & a half, or two inches, thereby showing to spectators in the rear a portion of an unnameable garment, which for sweet charity's sake, I will believe was *once* white & clean, & also showing to the said spectators a strip of the *native* & *natural* dress, that evidently would not be injured by a smart application of soap & water. . . .

You couldn't surely have been in earnest when you supposed me capable of such a *fall* in love. . . .

Dec. 15, 1853

. . . I accompanied her [Kate Mason] to the lecture last night, a lecture by Mr. Richman,[6] the keenest lawyer in Muscatine.

My turn comes next, but I am not yet prepared. The time has been put off a week & I shall not display my rhetoric until the 28th, and then, wake snakes, O, but wont I blow! . . .

Somebody's coming up stairs, a dutchman — as I live — he lays a card on my table, grunts, jabbers, & retires. The card reads "A[d]mittance to the German Theatre — Thursday, Dec. 15/53 — Complimentary ticket" Let's take a peep at the other side "Mr J. Carskaddan & family" — Good. Mr J. Carskaddan & family will go for a little while & hear them sputter dutch, stage fashion. There is life to be seen everywhere — though I have my suspicions, this will be a specimen of low life, & below stairs at that. Never mind, pearls are got out of dyspeptic oysters; & I may catch the tail of some idea, that will furnish a page or so for my lecture, even in a small dutch theatre. . . .

Dec. 21, 1853

You must be contented with an apology for a letter this time — I am so busy with my lecture & half a dozen other things, that I cannot give you such an answer as your letter deserves. . . . I have sent for the Home Journal to be continued to you — and I enclose to you two dollars to buy Magazines with — get just such ones as you want. Warner writes more for Old Knick than anything else — but Putnam is, I think, the best magazine in America.

I thought it would be less trouble for you to get them of an agent perhaps, than to have them sent by mail; for we should be obliged to have the address changed bye & bye — Our bookstore in town here, has all the magazines, & for the same price as in the East.

I would send you more money, but I can't spare any more just now — I will send you more soon.

[6] Dewitt Clinton Richman. In 1863 Carskaddan went into a partnership with Richman which lasted until the latter was appointed Circuit Judge in 1878. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches . . .*, 403.

Now Rilla, if there is anything you want, & that I can help you to, don't fail to ask me.

Goodnight, darling, — & pleasant dreams of the west & the future.

Dec. 31, 1853

Office of the "Democratic Enquirer" — Editor's chair.

Here's a go — sure as you live. I think you will be a trifle surprised at a piece of news I am about to tell you — but you will not be any more surprised than I am — I look back at the last week's doings with as much astonishment as a man would who had started for the "Bay of Biscay, O" & landed where the guinea pigs grow.

Yea, verily — wonderful are the changes of this world — would you believe it? I am an editor — editor of a weekly newspaper — the very last position I should have dreamed of finding myself in, two weeks ago.

About a week ago the Editor of the "Enquirer" received an appointment to a clerkship in Washington which he accepted (he would have done better to have staid in his chair editorial) & then offered his office and paper for sale. Well, for various reasons, some of them political & some pecuniary, (and it would take an hour's talk to let you into the whole thing) a Mr Williams, a young lawyer — a son of the Chief Justice of the State, and a complete western character, and myself, formed a partnership; & bought the newspaper, and are now duly installed as editors of a Democratic Journal in the great State of Iowa.[7]

Our partnership extends to our law business as well as to the paper.

It is a bold move but I think a good one. The paper is and always has been a paying one; and we can conduct it and carry on our law business at the same time, with ease.

It will be a ready means of getting myself known all over the State, & in that respect, if in no other, will be a great aid to me.

Our first number will be issued on Thursday next, — and I will send you one. Are you not a little surprised? This would be thought a queer move for a young lawyer in the east — but you must remember that the east and the west are as different as if an ocean rolled between them. Western

[7] The *Democratic Enquirer* was founded in 1848 by H. D. La Cossitt. Carskaddan and Thomas M. Williams bought the paper late in 1853, but Carskaddan withdrew after about a year. *History of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1879), 495-6.

men try everything in the way of business. The more irons in the fire, the better. In this very town I can point you to a carpenter & a tailor who have become successful lawyers, & to a lawyer who has become a *successful brickmaker*. . . .

Jan. 11, 1854

Your good letter of this morning must be answered, tho' my devil cries for copy, i. e. Something to print for tomorrow's paper.

My Partner is gone to Iowa City as a delegate to the Democratic State Convention, & I am alone in my glory as editor. This editing is queer business. It has kept me on the jump for the last week — & for that reason, if no other, I like it. Work, Work, for me — Anything that will keep hands and brain busy. I wake in the morning, and gather myself for the day's course like a racehorse, & then "pitch in." If in one year I am not one of the leaders of the rugged & unterrified democracy of this country, then you may take my head for a football.

I have one sad thing to tell, get an onion, peel it, and prepare to weep. Wo & alas, I have bid goodbye to my American Damsel. No more does she bake the buckwheat & boil the coffee for me. No more will her breakfasts gladden my palate, or her ankles my sight. I've shifted my quarters — & now board at the Iowa House, kept by the Mayor of the City — a rough & uncouth genius, but one of my firmest & warmest friends.

And Kate M. too has passed out of my hands, forever I fear. I attended a party last Monday night. She was there, but I hardly got a chance to speak to her, she was so assiduously waited upon . . . by a certain Mr Olds, — confound his picture. He went home with her. . . .

[Jan.? 1854]

I hardly know how to answer that last letter. I believe I ought to take a pretty stiff glass of brandy, in order to be in the right trim to give it an answer that will do it justice.

To commence at the commencement — my partner and I lodge together, we have partitioned off a part of the "Enquirer" office, & it makes as snug [a] little cubby of a place as you ever saw. . . .

I should like to know what you really think of this editorial move of mine. I suppose you do not exactly like it, but I hope you are satisfied

with it, or that you may become satisfied — for I should hate to be engaged in any business that did not meet your hearty approval. Let me explain the position of things a little — and treat you to a dish of politics.

The democratic party holds a great majority in this State, and for several years, one of the U. S. Senators from this State has ruled it completely.[8] He & his particular friends have dictated as to who should hold office, & who should not. This faction, from having been so long in power, has become somewhat overbearing, & the great body of the party are getting tired of it. Chief Justice Williams, the father of my partner, is opposed to this Senator & his faction, & is one of the strongest men politically in the State. Last week the State Convention, to which I alluded in my last, nominated candidates for the State offices who are favorable to Williams, and opposed to the Senator. Thus you see the Williams party are getting to be the strongest.

Now our paper, under the former Editor, was bitter as death against Williams. We learned there was a chance to purchase it, & without consulting any one we dashed in and bought — & without the knowledge of the Chief Justice even. But he, since he learned the fact, heartily approves the move.

Our policy is to go in for the Williams portion of the democracy, and ride into influence & position on that hobby. I shall commence cautiously, of course, perhaps it will be months before we come out full & bold. Thus much, *politically*. Remember, Rilla, the above is between you and I alone. I don't know that I have made it very plain, but I have given you some idea of how the adventure stands.

Pecuniarily, I have no doubt I shall make three times as much as I should by the practice of the law alone. We have the best type & material in the State for doing job work, & that is the branch of business that pays the best. The paper, as you have probably noticed, is well patronised by advertisers — almost too well.

I, of course have the chief management of the concern, both in regard to the paper & the law business. I would never consent to play second fiddle to any man in this country. My partner is a fine and able fellow, and as

[8] Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones were Iowa's Senators in 1854. This is probably a reference to Jones, whose second election, in 1853, had been hotly contested by Williams and several others in the Democratic caucus. John Carl Parish, *George Wallace Jones* (Iowa City, 1912), 44-5.

one of my best friends said when he heard of the new "firm" and its doings — "he is a first rate wheel horse." What do you think of the move now?

Feb. 24, 1854

. . . Our foreman was taken sick wednesday evening, & I had to take hold of the press myself yesterday, & work off the paper. You ought to have seen me — with my coat & vest off, sleeves rolled up, working like a nigger on a cotton plantation. . . .

I shall probably be with you earlier than I had calculated, perhaps about the first of April. And I think now that I shall go to N. Y. City while east. We expect to have a three thousand dollar job of publishing to do. If so, we shall have to get some new type &c. and N. Y. is the best place to get it.

Mar. 13, 1854

. . . I am sorry that the change in my plan about going east, interferes at all with your arrangements. But it will be much more convenient for me, under present circumstances, to visit the Castle early this spring, than to wait untill Summer. . . . Will you not be as ready to join hands with me in April, as you would be in June . . .? Never mind the sewing & the other little fixins. You can do it as easily when you are Mrs Carskaddan as while you are Miss Brown, Cant you? . . .

Doubtless there are many things which I have not yet done, that you as a prudent girl would wish to have done before joining your name to mine. But you recollect, you said in one of your letters sometime ago, "we can commence with but little & be prudent, as others have done before us." And this is the best place in the world to commence in that manner — for an attempt to "keep up appearances" here in the west, without the ability to do so, would only excite the ridicule it deserves. Economy is a virtue more honored in the west than in the east.

I cannot tell you on paper all my thoughts, hopes & plans in regard to our future. We shall have time to discuss all of these when we meet.

Meantime dream of me & of happiness, for we *will be happy*.

Good bye, darling —

Your

Jerome

Is this the last time that I shall ever write to Marilla *Brown*?

Diary of W. H. Turner, M. D., 1863

Edited by Mildred Throne

In the early months of 1863 Grant was preparing for the attack on Vicksburg, the strongest bastion of the Confederate army on the Mississippi. From January until the surrender of the city on July 4, 1863, military and naval operations around the beleaguered city were almost constantly in progress. In addition to the wounded, there were many soldiers suffering from the various "camp diseases" brought on by living and fighting in the swamps along the Mississippi. The need for hospitals and for removal of the soldiers was great. "Floating hospitals" had been inaugurated by the Western Sanitary Commission after the battles of Donelson and Shiloh in 1862. Now these hospital boats were called into service for the troops surrounding Vicksburg.[1]

Permanently stationed at Milliken's Bend, about eighteen miles up the river from Vicksburg, was the hospital steamboat *Nashville*, "fitted up to accommodate one thousand patients," while two other boats, the *City of Memphis* and the *D. A. January*, were engaged in bringing the wounded and the sick to the *Nashville*, or in transporting them farther up the river to Memphis and St. Louis for hospital care. Each boat was supplied with a corps of army surgeons and several women nurses supplied by the Sanitary Commission.[2]

It was to one of these boats that Dr. William H. Turner of Keokuk was ordered by Grant in March of 1863. Turner, a brother of Annie Turner Wittenmyer, had been appointed Assistant Surgeon of the Second Iowa Infantry in 1862, at the age of 28.[3] A native of Ohio, Turner had come to Iowa in 1852 with his parents. Before that date, however, he had worked for a time as a pilot on the Ohio River, he had attended college at Mays-

[1] For the siege of Vicksburg, see Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman, *The American Iliad: The Epic Story of the Civil War* . . . (Indianapolis, 1947), 415–56; U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:422–570. For the work of the Sanitary Commission, see [Jacob Gilbert Forman], *The Western Sanitary Commission: A Sketch* . . . (St. Louis, 1864).

[2] [Forman], *Western Sanitary Commission* . . ., 75-6.

[3] *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908–1911), 1:99.

ville, Kentucky, and had begun the study of medicine. This study he continued under the guidance of Dr. John F. Sanford at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Keokuk. He was graduated from the Iowa Medical College in 1856. He practiced medicine in Keokuk for about three years, and then moved to Jackson Township in Lee County, where he engaged in both medicine and farming. Dr. Turner died in 1900.[4]

For about two months during his war services Dr. Turner kept a journal in which he set down his experiences on the *City of Memphis* on the Mississippi before the fall of Vicksburg. This journal was presented to the State Historical Society of Iowa by Mrs. Cora Eversmeyer of Muscatine.

[March 3, 1863] At Corinth. Received Orders from Gen'l Grant to report in person to him at Youngs Point, La.[5] I started on the 4th. had a very pleasant trip on the cars there was several ladies on board who wer [*sic*] on their way to Memphis to work in hospitals at that place and below. Nothing worthy of note transpired on the road. We arrived at Jackson Tenn near 11 a.m it is quite a city and has at one time done a large business for an inland town it is at present the head Quarters of Genl Sullivan[6] and is strongly fortified We started near 1 p.m I was greatly Impressed to see such a strong guard on the road at every Bridge or small Village there was a detachment of soldiers. The country is very rough and the land so far as I am able to judge is rather poor and has been poorly cultivated, in many places the crops of corn wer still standing in the field the country appears to be poorly supplied with Barns or even out houses of any Kind for stock or for taking care of grain. As we came near Memphis we saw some very fine dwellings built on the modern style I should have said that all or nearly so in the interior wer built after the Old Colonial fashion. arrived at Memphis at 7½ P. M. put up at the Gayosa House for the night it is one of the finest houses in the City. large roomy and well furnished the accommodations are good the proprietor gentlemanly and always ready to lend his help to make his customers comfortable. The table is good and furnished with a variety far greater than I expected as the city is under

[4] *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 361; *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 5:80 (April, 1901).

[5] Young's Point, Louisiana, was across the Mississippi and a few miles above Vicksburg. Grant had moved his headquarters to Young's Point on Jan. 29, 1863. Grant, *Personal Memoirs . . .*, 1:441.

[6] Brigadier-General J. C. Sullivan.

strict Marshall Law and but little commerce carried on except through the Millitary Department

The City is much larger than I expected it will number near 40,000 Inhabitants has a fine location high and rolling and from all appearances healthy we have some fine hospitals here and more in course of erection to receive patients from the army below I start this evening 5 o[clock] for the Point on the Empire City a small Stern Wheel boat I have Government Transportation and have to pay 1.50 cts per day for board (or in other words my fare is included with my board) The accommodations wer tolerably good but not up to the fare. on the boat I met with 4 other Surgeons who wer ordered to report at the Same place Drs Burns, Hastings, Brunt and Smith we had a pleasant time of it for they wer all gentlemen and full of fun.

[March 6] The Miss River is high in many places over the banks everything looks Dull and in fact is dull on our passage down we saw but little appearance of life on Shore the plantations all appeared to be deserted fences down stock free to roam at will. Helena I believe is the first town of any Size after you leave Memphis. the town is 85 miles below the latter place on the Arkansas Side of the river. Is situated under the Bluff is low and wet it contains near 2,000 inhabitants many fine business houses and has been a place of business at one time it has the appearance of being a very unhealthy place It is Garrisoned at present by our forces Gen'l Prentice[7] is in command there at present we Stopped there but a Short time.

From here down the plantations are more numerous and of a better character many of [them] very extensive and have the appearance of a Small Village the Negro quarters neat I saw but few but what wer good houses and neatly whitewashed which gives them a favorable appearance The Shores Still have that lonesom[e] appearance We Seldom See anybody and in many places the bottoms are one vast sheet of water for miles on either side I suppose this is unusual and has happened this year through the negligence of the planters in Keeping up Levee they have other and more important work on hand to pay any attention to their farms the Levees are broken in many places where the land is not covered with water it is [covered] with a rank weed called cotton weed and is adorned with a yel-

[7] General B. M. Prentiss.

low flower. this weed is said to follow cotton one would Suppose it true for it covers all the land within sight cotton or no cotton.

We have one passenger on board [who] is very anxious to make some money on the rout[e] by playing cards he felt very bad to think we all belonged [to] the class of men that don't gamble

[March 7] To day we passed the mouth of White River and Arkansas at the former place we wer hailed and Searched by one of our Gunboats Some of the passengers wer badly frightened as the boat fired a shot across our bow they supposed we wer attacked by gurillas we was detained but a short time next place was the Arkansas river there is quite a village at the Mouth called Napoleon the place is nearly deserted it has a very bad name and judging from its appearance it deserves it the Marine hospital for the benefit of the Steamboatsmen of the lower Miss is Situated here it is a fine looking building I think the location poorly selected the Surrounding country is low and in the Spring must be very wet. it has never been used by either army for a Millitary hospital. this is one of the points where we have always had trouble with Gurilla parties just below here we wer hailed by a Squad of blacks on shore prudence forbade our commander landing for them he hadn't forgotten the way our fathers were deceived by the Indians. The next place of note was Greenville Miss the place so noted for gurillas this [is] one of the neatest towns on the river Composed of a class of finely built frame Houses neatly built and Situated in a pleasant place it also has the appearance of being deserted

[March 8] We arrived here this morning at the Celebrated town of Providence made notorious by being Situated near a small Lake by that name, and also for a Canal that was dug by our forces from the river into the Lake There has never been but two greater failures to my Knowledge than the Providence Canal One was the Canal at Vicksburg and the other the Army of the Potomac the great cause of the failure was an oversight of commander in letting the water in before the work was finished and flooding the whole Country driving out the workmen leaving the work unfinished and no chance to operate.[8] The town is Small and situated on

[8] The cutting of a canal from the Mississippi River to Lake Providence, a fairly large lake just west of the Mississippi in the northeastern corner of Louisiana, was one of the many efforts Grant was making, without much hope of success, to find a way to by-pass and surround Vicksburg. In the early months of 1863 various canal projects were tried. The one from the Mississippi to Lake Providence was supposed to enable boats to go from the Mississippi through the lake, thence through a series

very low land it was at one time a place of considerable business We stoped here but a Short time then proceeded on our way down the river I Should here remark that the Miss River is very crooked, in many places we can See across the point and [it] is at least 30 miles round one place in particular it [is] 60 miles around and not over 10 across.

The next place of note is Millikens bend this is the place where our troops wer landed or a portion of them this [is] a low section of country 18 miles above Vicksburg one of our army corps is here they have a very disagreeable camp wood and water plenty it is almost impossible for them to move around. and of course very unhealthy. from here we go down to the point [Young's Point] which is 12 miles there is troops all along the Shore down opposite Vicksburg and I understand that we have forces Stil[l] lower down. This [is] I think one of the hardest camps that I have Seen Since I entered the Service, the river is at least 2 feet higher than the camp which our troops occupy which of course makes it mudy [*sic*] then besides all that they are poorly Supplied with Vegetables and as a consequence have Scurvy at the best I consider it a dear expedition and one that will cost us many valuable lives.

We landed at the lower landing at 11 A. M. I reported immediately to the Medical Director Dr Hewitt for duty while there I met with my old friends Dr's Turner[9] & Grinsted who wer at that time in charge of the Hospital Steamer City of Memphis they made a request for me immediately and I was ordered on that boat for duty. I felt very grateful [*sic*] to Dr Turner for his gentlemanly conduct towards me and also his wife who I can call a perfect lady and kind Woman. here I should also mention Drs Graff and Burns [Byrns] both perfect gentlemen I became very much attached to them during my Stay on the boat. While we wer laying there I had a fine chance to view the City of Vicksburg it is Situated on a Bluff Some 100 or more feet above the level of the river it is a poor looking place yet it is one of Millitary importance I Suppose it can be made one of the Strongest places in the west and is likely [to be so] at the present time, there is Strong looking fortifications on the bluffs Surrounding the city.

of bayous and the Tensas, Washita, and Red rivers, rejoining the Mississippi at the mouth of the Red, some four hundred miles below Vicksburg. Although as early as February Grant had little hope of the success of this maneuver, he "let the work go on, believing employment was better than idleness for the men." Grant, *Personal Memoirs . . .*, 1:448.

[9] Dr. W. D. Turner, not to be confused with the author of this journal.

The celebrated canal is located here just opposite the city it has cost many thousands of dollars and I doubt not many lives and has proved one of the most Shameful failures that has ever come off Since Adam was a little boy Yet it is in keeping with many of our old uncles Speculations and just as long as he lets his boys do just as they please he will have to foot the bills of Such foolery.

I received orders this evening to receive the patients as they came on board we commenced about 4 P. M. and continued to receive until near 12 M when we had on board 400 men Mostly cases of Diarrhea Some of them very low Some of them died that night one or two while they were being brought on board I think it an unpardonable Sin to move men in Such a condition yet it appears to be the fashion of nearly all of our Surgeons to Shove their patients off their hands if they think they are going to die, in this case they were dragged through the mud and came in exhausted from the exertions and many never recovered from the prostration between 12 and 1 the levee broke just below cam[p] and caused quite a Stampede among the troops and caused us to tumble out in double-quick to receive the sick we kept on receiving until we had on board near 700 by this time [it] was morning

[March 9] We then run up to the Hospital [boat] Nashvill[e] and shipped all the convalescents on board of her and received in return a load of Sick Men in other words men that were half dead and dying, from there we started for Memphis. Now comes my first experience of a Physic[ian] or its practice on board of a Steamboat. it is quite a change I had been used to a Small regimental hospital now I am in charge of a hundred and fifty men that I never saw before afflicted in all Manners Shapes and form and all anxious to try the effects of a change and their new Doctor one consolation I have I can give them any diet that I wish We Start from the bend at 10 P. M. Now all is bustle among the Drs Drs Byrns, Graff and Myself take Charge of the lower wards Dr Grinsted and W. D. Turner of the upper. every patient has a long Set Story to tell you of his Disease and if you would let him it would take at least one hour to hear him through and he feels highly insulted if you don't stand and hear him out and Says that these army drs dont care for the privates We had quite a pleasant trip up we lost 38 of our men unloaded Spent one day at Memphis and Started back

[March 11] On our way down again we can see gurrillas on the Shore but they dont molest us the river is Still rising and has covered much of the country Helena is what you might call a city of mud and water it is almost impossible to get through the streets our troops occupy the high ground back of town we took on coal here and then left for the Point at which place we arrived on the 12th later in the evening we found things just about as we left them Mud Some deeper and more water. in the evening Our forces started out [on] what we called a Dummy in this instance it was an old Barge so rigged as to resemble a gun boat and draw the fire of the enemy it Succeeded admarably for I dont believe there was a gun in their works that was idle it was a Splendid Sight it presented one continuous blaze of fire for many minutes until it had passed their batteries The trick was a compleet Success it Showed how Strong their batteries wer and with what ac[c]uracy they Shot, they hit the dummy but 5 or 6 times out [of] 2 or 3 hundred Shots.[10]

[March 12] We lay all day here I visited the Canal they are Still on it. the embankment is giving away in many places, it is full of water and there is a very Strong current through the whole length of it. The great wonder to me is that they can find Men with Brass Sufficient in their faces to work on the humbug I would certainly resign before I would do so They have 2 Dredging Machin[e]s at work lifting mud from the bottom of the canal it looks very foolish to clean out one portion while there is large trees in other portions that it would be almost impossible to remove even if the water was deep enough for navigation I went down the works until I was opposite Vicks-burg I got a fine View of the place and its fortifications I mean its river works it is quite dangerous to remain there long for they are in the habit [of] Sending Shells over there when they want you to leave I didnt wait for that invitation.

On My return I for the first time saw Shelter Tents in use I had often heard of them now I had a chance of seeing them Occupied by troops. I will acknowledge that I cant do the things justice but I will say this much that if I had command of an Army and my Q. M. Should furnish me Such Tents I would have him removed from his position and if he didn't take

[10] This was the prelude to the running of the Vicksburg blockade by the Union troops in barges and gunboats. The canal projects failing, Grant adopted this desperate measure in order to get south of Vicksburg. For the story of this "dummy" gunboat, see Eisenschiml and Newman, *American Iliad . . .*, 424.

them away with him I would order him Shot and the tents burned for the purpose of saving life. They are just large enough to hold two men very uncomfortably in good weather provided they keep drawn up, and lay close. in bad weather they won't hold themselves, a man can't Sit within 20 yds of it in a good tent without getting wet, it leaks at top, sides, and bottom just the looks of one of them is enough for me without Sleeping in one of them I notice that the boys enjoy very poor health compared with those who are quartered in good tents Then there is one more thing that I noticed I saw no officers quartered in them, even them that recommended them highly that speaks bad for our generous commanders. I know the men feel highly complimented over it for I heard them say so.

Our boys have a very hard time of it they are encampt on [a] very wet low Mudy place the Levee is the only Dry place within miles of here. Yet our boys appear to enjoy themselves there is plenty of Diarrhea and Flux and many of them Dying the only place they have for burial is the Levee and that is becoming filled up if Our Army Stays here for a few months it will [be] one vast body of Coffins. I returned to My boat and found that we wer ordered to take on Some patients we received near 150 and lay until morning

[March 13] we recieved [*sic*] a few more during day and in the evening run up to the floating hospital Nashville where we finnished our load which was 450 patients we left then at 9, P. M. for St Louis our patients wer very Sick many of them wer very much reduced and in fact in dying condition when we received them nothing of importance occured during our up trip we had a pleasant time Saw Several Squads of geurillas on the bank.

[March 16] Arrived on the morning of the 16 at Memphis where we lay but a few hours and Started again I said we had a pleasant trip we had but plenty of work on all Such loads there is Some who are feigning sickness while in fact there is nothing the matter with them I have 5 or 6 of them in my ward and for the first day or two they gave much trouble I Soon found I must do Something and too [*sic*] their utter astonishment instead of receiving a prescription I told them to get up and go to work. Oh What a Squall raised they refused and took worse on the Spot and Kept getting worse until their groans and grunts and constant running to Privy annoyed the rest of the boys who wer very low I went to them and

wanted to know why them didnt go to work they declared themselves too sick Very well I Said I took 3 out of the number who had said but little gave them buckets and told them they must furnish the Sick with water and help feed them the others I [put] under Special care of the guard with orders to be put on low Diet Tea and toast and nothing else except for dinner then they could have Some Soup and nothing else and if they Stole anything else tie them up I dont believe that I ever saw men improve faster in my life, at first the change appeared to make them worse and they Sent for Dr W. D. Turner he cut their diet down to one ½ of what I had allowed them that was just the trick two meals cured them they Sent for me and told me they were much better and would do any light work that I wished them too. I told them they were entirely too weak for work they must remain on low Diet at least one day longer. that was to much for them they began to beg and I released them, and a better set of men I never say they were all good nurses and done their work well. That was a new trick on the boat and it took well. The other Surgeons soon tried it with good effect I could generally get them to work by talking Some wer to hard in the face. One who was not acquainted in the army would Say that I was cruel. just let me explain it, in every regiment there is some men who are perfect Scamps and always have been, the army hasn't improved them a particle they become homesick and will Stoop to anything to accomplish their object these men wer of that Stamp and I knew it at first Sight

We are loosing many of our patients none out of my ward however I think it owing to Ventilation my ward is well Ventilated I keep the whole Deck opened Many of my boys grumble at it but I will give them plenty of air I have two boys that are perfect curiosities they are both Drumers near 16 yrs old and have been Sick for Sometime they both had a dream and wer both going to die next day in the after noon I tried my best to Divert their minds but found it useless and tried anodines with stimulents but found all to fail. I gave them Brandy freely almost to intoxication without any effect then I gave both a hot bath with plenty of Pepper with plenty of friction on the Skin all this time they wer as limber as rags speechless and motionless after 4 hours work I got them both revived and out of the notion [of] dying here let [me] mention Mrs Brooks one of the lady Nurses on the boat She is a fine woman and one of the best nurses

that I have ever Seen too her exertion in the Cases mentioned I am greatly indebted for I think they would certainly have died She has a Son in the army

We have two other ladies on board both over the age of Sweet Sixteen Miss Hadly and Miss Walker of Chicago they are very fine girls and always ready to help when needed they wer very much interested in these boys and fixed them up many little things to eat. Mrs. [W.] D. Turner was more like a mother than a Stranger She done all in her power to make us comfortable and also looked after the fare of many of the very Sick men.

[March 18] We arrived at Cairo on the evening of 18th we Stayed here for Sometime and took on some Coal here we also bought Vegetables for the Sick there was nothing worthy of note transpired During our Stay here one thing I will mention it is common in the army [that] the boys are nearly crazy after Onions Eggs and Potatoes they will give almost any price for them and it is a wonder to me why more of them are not shipped to them it will pay well and be a great accommodation [to] our troops We have had pleasant weather ever since we Started up

[March 20] we arrived at St Louis on the 20th and our load was soon taken off our loss comeing up was 41 and at that number I thought it Small but Many appeared to think it large we are once more free from work and all feel tired and ready for any fun or rest We Went to the St Louis Theater and [like] all other fools never provided ourselves with Provost Passes the Police Soon found us and gave us a very Clever and pressing invitation to visit his head quarters and assured us that the play would not Stop or even be interupted by our leaving after much persuasion we wer left to enjoy ourselves at our pleasure. We did so and returned to the boat when the play was over.

We lay at the wharf Some 3 or 4 days with nothing to do and at liberty to do as we pleased Dr Graff and I were constant associates I think him one of the finest Young Men of My acquaintance. I will not enter into any of the particulars of our Stay here but just Say we had [a] jovial time generally Our boat was undergoing repairs the [men] was very free with their Money and by the time we left many of them wer Straped of their two months pay which they had just received.

We here settled our Mess bill and organized an independent one and laid in our Supplies for the trip. the mess consisted of 5 Doctors 4 Women

Steward and two Clerks Drs Turner Grinsted Turner Byrns and Graff Mrs Turner Miss Hadly, Walker, and Mrs Brooks Now for the first time in my life I had to put on Cod Fish looks and actions even in my chat. I made Some Mistakes and Some of them very ridiculous ones Such as helping Myself Pouring My Tea out into the Saucer when it was hot helping Myself to fruit and putting it on my plate taking butter with my own Knife and all Such trick[s] ignorantly done and done in good faith. . . . We had Some Company going Down Drs of course for we are now allowed to carry passengers.

[March 25] We Started on the 25th for Vicksburg Our trip down was pleasant we had Music both Vocal and instrumental. Games of Whist, Eucher, Cribbage Sixty Six, Chess and Backgammon. Our down trips are always jovial and full of mirth nothing of importance transpired worthy of note on our way down except the report that Several boats wer fired into by guerrillas we Saw Several parties out on Shore of the regular Butternut Clan but they let us pass unmolested. They appear to [have] Some respect for Hospital boats and Gunboats but they are loosing respect for the latter and I Shouldn't be surprised if they would fire into them Soon but just at present they respect them they are posted all along the river from Cairo to Vicksburg.

[March 29] We reached [Young's] Point on the 29 things but little changed Some movement of troops on hand but to what point I dont know but think for Grand Gulf.[11] The river is Some higher than before and many of the Sick are in hard looking places We got an order Soon after we landed to move all the Sick from Youngs Point up to the Floating Hospital Nashville and leave them retaining all on board who wer to be Sent north we took on board 900 You had better believe we had a great time with them Every one expected to receive prompt treatment and his meals at the regular hours and of course he didn't get it So we got a bad name We had them on board for 24 hours before we could find room for them on the other boat we Shipped them at last and received 550 from the Same boat and orders to take them to St. Louis and then return to Memphis and receive sick for St Louis

We had a hard trip of it the weather was wet and cold it was almost impossible to keep the boys warm most of them wer much emaciated with

[11] Grand Gulf, Mississippi, on the river some 20 miles below Vicksburg.

the Diarrhea it made them fretful and discontented that made it hard on us and it was the time that our patience was Sorely tried 2 out of the 5 failed got Mad talked cross and Sharp to their patients. that was bad for them for the more you irritate Such men the worse and the more trouble they give you My partner Dr Byrns and myself Kept in a good humor he got off one or two little hard words but Soon got over it and we Kept everything quiet in our wards I was called the good natured Man by all. The Mortality was large we lost many 43 I believe At Memphis we had to take on coal and Stores for the sick we received a considerable quantity of Sanitary Stores which was very exceptible [acceptable] to the Sick.[12]

[April 3] We leave here April 3 in this load of patients there is 4 of my old acquaintances and old customers as a Matter of course we wer glad to See each Other and had quite a chat I met many that I have met before and Some of my Old School Mates there was nothing of importance occured one thing I have noticed among the patients they are nearly crazy after Onions Potatoes and Eggs the latter they will give 5 cts apiece for freely and anxious to get them at that price they give us Much trouble we can hardly Keep the peddlers off they will Smuggle Such things on board to Sell Many boys are Killed by them and the Surgeon never finds it out until his patient is dead We run out of Coal on our way up and had to take on wood Which we did at Commerce Mo We were on a race with the Steamer New Kentucky the Speed of the boats was nearly equal and as a natural consequence it got up considerable excitement and we [did not] wish to be detained any longer at the [wood] Yard than we could possibly help So nurses Doctors Officers and many of the convalescents turned out and carried wood we took on 75 cords then continued our journey. We was So Sore for Several days that we Could hardly move Our consolation was good we joined our object [and] beat the boat up

[April 7] we arrived on Morning of the 7th unloaded our Sick Supplied our boat with Stores and waited two days for orders from Asst Surgeon Gen'l [R. C.] Wood During the interval we enjoyed our selves in the City each one to his fancy it was generally at Some place of amusement Such as the Theater

[April 9] We left on the 9 for Memphis with Several Surgeons on board

[12] These were supplies of food, clothing, bedding, and bandages furnished to the army by the Sanitary Commission. See [Forman], *The Western Sanitary Commission . . ., passim.*

ordered to that place for duty we had a very pleasant trip down at Cairo we took on Coal and left for Memphis on the 11

One thing I will mention here for fear I forget it. It is this I have taken particular notice for Some time [that] nearly all the army Surgeons drink and many of [them] to excess I will say at least half of them Many of them neglect their duties I think it hard for Such men to hold positions especially ones of such responsibility yet the higher the Rank the more they neglect their business. This won't hold good with our Inspectors for they are Sober Men and so far as I have Seen so is the Director but in a Majority of cases it will hold good I saw 8 Surgeons Drink out of 10 and it was a very poor day for drinking and they had a very poor drink I Suppose it was all right

[April 12-13] We arrived at Memphis on the 12 received our load on the 13 which consisted Mostly of very Sick Men from the hospitals in the City we received 600 before we received our load of patients we rambled over the City Sight Seeing the first place of importance that we visited was Court Square it is a beautifull place laid out with taste. well shaded with Choice shrubery in the Center it Contains the Bust of Jackson with Some very appropriate mottos one of them is The Union Must and Shall be preserved While the rebbs wer in possession of the p[l]ace one of them tried to knock the letters off with his bayonet I Suppose his comrads or Officers became asshamed of that kind of work and made him quit The Park is filled with Grey Squirrels very tame which gives it a very pictoresque appearance.

While we wer in the Park Several Ladies came in I supposed from their looks and actions that they wer daughters of Dixie They looked on us with perfect contempt. We in return treated them with perfect indifference talked and laughed just as though we wer alone they Soon left us thinking I Suppose that we was very poor judges of beauty or perfectly ignorant of the rules of Society I never Saw so great a variety of Flowers in my life for the Time of year nearly every house (Dwelling) is Surrounded with them. And what is worse for the young Soldier he will Seldom pass one of these fine flower gardens without Seeing a pair of bright Eyes peering through a window at him. . . . On the Streets [we] met many of the citizens and a Sourer looking set I never Saw. When we met ladies, I believe it was a rule with them to put on the most contemptuous look they had with

them. Nearly all the business done here is done through the Millitary dept and Some few private Stores. then there is that Class of Rogues called jews with their Stocks of Clothing. I think from what I can see the Citizens are very much dissatisfied with the present rule but will have to make the best of it. None of the Citizens appear [to] feel at home you can see them in Small groups on nearly every Street earnestly chatting We will leave this place for the present and return [to] Hospital S B City of Memphis

We Start for St. Louis with our load nothing of importance occured during our up trip one unaccostomed to this Kind of [trip] would find plenty to interest them and could find Many little anacdotes which would interest the Public and some of them would likely be instructive and would explain why Surgeons get Such hard names.

I will here give an inside view of my ward it contains 175 men all called Sick and many of them are Some not Diarrhea is the prevailing [disease] then we have diseases of nearly every class and then we have some who are home Sick and have nothing else then there is another class commonly called Shirks and are ready for anything but fight these two last variety are the ones that give the Surgeon his trouble and bad name he must be first attended too have the most Comfortable bed best to eat then Do at least 2/3ds of the grumbling or he will give you a hard name Now I have plenty of just Such men and I am the poorest man in the world to humor people and for that reason I have a hard name among Such men

We are Scarce of nurses up Stairs I Sent all of mine up but just enough to have one of the old ones on duty all the time for a boss then took 10 or 12 out of the wards and Made them work. it gave me great trouble they claimed to be Sick Men and came on board for the purpose [of] treatment and not work My argument was that I was their Surgeon and it was my business to prescribe for them my prescription was exercise and they must take it My order was Supreme in my ward We have Some lively times especially at mealtime every one is ordered to his bunk and Must receive his Meals from the nurses nothing would Surprise you more than to see them eat men that can hardly walk alone will eat all they can get with the most ravenous appetite and will always complain of being hungry you could hardly believe that a Man that you wer looking for his death every hour would eat all you would give him. That is one of the hardes[t] things that I have to contend with I can't Stand and hear a man beg for food when

I know he feels all he Says and likely more too You will not find one out of 10 of these old chronic cases of Diarrhea but what have a morbid Appetite in fact you seldom See a Soldier Cant eat if he can move

We have Some very Sick men this trip and lost Many not more [than] I think would have Died if they had been left in Hospital in Memphis Some it injured and others benefitted on the whole I think we came out a little ahead We found fine facillities for feeding patients and plenty to feed them on we carry our Beef alive and Butch[e]r as we need Nothing worthy of note occured on our up trip we had pleasant weather and a quick trip. . . .

We lay her[e] 3 days for repairs on the boat which I think was wrong as we could have done without the work we spent our time as usual in the City we wer all anxious for news from the East Hoocker[13] we all think will do something for his section of the Country

[April 15] We Start on the 15th for Memphis after another load of Sick from that point. We have many passengers all Dr's and Women We had quite a pleasant time of it all free and easy having good time generally. We had quite a pleasant trip down and found all things ready for loading it began to rain and continued to do So for two or three days we had to receive one load in very dissagreeable weather we heard at this time that Grant was moving below Vicksburg with nearly all of his force it created quite an excitement especially among the rebbs they couldnt understand what his object was. Why he Should leave Vicksburg and expose the remanent of his force to the mercy of the Garrison at that place.

[April 24] Such another load of men I never saw 700 all told and 2/3 of them Convalescents and a real jolly set can eat all they can carry and some more they are Said to be men that are unable to Stand the Service and Many [do not] like their looks for they look like Men that wer to mean for anything then others Deserve a discharge and will likely get it. They are all anxious for a trip up the river and are very anxious to know what the Doctor thinks of their case we had a great time with them it takes all of us to Keep them Straight and then we often fail I had 250 under my charge and they are the hardest Men I ever had anything to do with never Satisfied with their treatment or their diet always grumbling one of them thought he would force things to Suit him and knocked my Wardmaster

[13] Maj.-Gen. Joseph Hooker had recently been placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, replacing Maj.-Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside after the Union defeat at Fredericksburg.

down and attempted to beat him but I happened to come in and Stopped the fun by taking the man and placing him under guard with Roaps around his arms and leggs I had to keep him for half [a] day I will be well pleased when we get rid of this load We lost Several none however in my ward we had a pleasant trip up nothing of importance occured on our way up worthy of note I met one of my old neighbors John Sowthes, he has turned out to be quite a different man he preaches and is Said to be a man of Some influense and property when I knew him he was a regular Sot and one of the meanest Kind

[April 30] we arrived at St Louis on the 30th We always Stay here for two or three days it is quite a job of work to supply our boat with Stores and get everything in trim for the reception of another load of Sick We have to Send all our Stores (Clothes) out for wash and repairs which takes from 2 to 3 days That gave us time for exercise in the City and a chance for getting some fancy Meals at Resterants and you better believe we enjoyed it

[May 3] We Started for Millikens Bend on the 3d of May all anxious for the news from the Seat of war below we heard many vague rumors but Nothing definite there was considerable Stir on the river nearly every boat that passed [on] the river was fired into from the Shore by guerrillas and many of the boys was affraid we would be Saluted by them We had quite a time our company was good all lively and Mirth prevailed all the way down. Our old boat was hailed and warned not to procceed beyond the mouth of the Arkansas river unless under the protection of a Gunboat we thought our flag of yellow bunting Sufficient protection, but Commander of Gunboat laying below us thought different & forbade us to proceed

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The third annual Mississippi River steamboat excursion for members of the Society consisted of four trips, July 1 through 4: from McGregor to Dubuque; from Dubuque to Davenport; from Davenport to Burlington; and from Burlington to Keokuk and return. The trips were made on the *Rob Roy* III, made available to the Society by Captain O. D. Collis. Some three hundred members of the Society and their guests took part in this annual event.

Many valuable documents have been presented to the Society in recent months. Major Irvin M. Parsons of the Military Department of the State University of Iowa gave the Society the letters and diaries of his grandfather, Lieutenant Abner Dunham of Company F, 12th Iowa. Mrs. L. L. Howe of Highland Park, Illinois, deposited nineteen scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, covering the years 1886 to 1936, which had been collected by Albert F. Dawson, former Congressman from Iowa. Miss Amy Noll of Des Moines loaned the Society for copying an 1861 diary of Edward Fisher of Poweshiek County, a member of the 4th Iowa Cavalry. A valuable collection of letters and diaries, dated 1861–1864, of Henry J. Wieneke, who served during the Civil War in the Dakotas, has been presented to the Society by his daughter, Mrs. Minnie Horton of Iowa City. Miss N. M. Daniel of Traer has given the Society a series of account books of her father, Dr. W. A. Daniel, dating from 1864 to 1879, together with a Pike's Peak diary of Henry Daniel, dated 1859.

The Society, upon the request of Governor William S. Beardsley, directed the preparation of an outline map of Iowa carved from Anamosa limestone, to be part of "Flag House Square" in Baltimore, a monument being built to the memory of Francis Scott Key. Each state is contributing a similar map, carved from its native stone, to form a huge map of the United States which will be part of the rostrum in this monument. Flag House Square was dedicated on Flag Day, June 14, 1950.

Dr. William J. Petersen and Dr. Mildred Throne attended the 43rd annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Oklahoma City, April 19–22, 1950.

Dr. Charles E. Snyder, Curator of the Society from 1947 to 1949, died in Portland, Maine, May 20, 1950, at the age of 72. The Board of Curators on May 31, 1950, adopted the following resolution:

> The Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa desires to express and record its deep appreciation of the loyal services of Dr. Charles E. Snyder to the Society.
>
> Throughout his long career Dr. Snyder was active in social, civic, governmental, and historical affairs in Iowa. During his pastorates at Sioux City and Davenport he frequently participated in state and local historical meetings. He also contributed articles for publication by the State Historical Society, and served for two years as a member of the Board of Curators.
>
> Now, therefore, be it resolved that this resolution of appreciation be made a part of the minutes of this meeting, and that a copy of the same be sent to Mrs. Snyder.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

March 30	Mid-Century Industrial Exposition at Des Moines.
April 5	Addressed Benton County Historical Society, Belle Plaine.
April 16	Attended Third Mississippi River Art Display, Davenport.
April 18–23	Attended 43rd annual meeting, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Oklahoma City.
May 1	Addressed Madison County Historcial Society, Winterset.
May 8	Addressed Washington Woman's Club at Iowa City.
May 9	Address at Democratic Party Day, State University of Iowa.
May 11	Conesville commencement.
May 12	Grand Junction commencement.
May 18	Conroy commencement.
May 23	Address at Republican Party Day, State University of Iowa.
May 25	Mount Vernon commencement.
June 12	Attended Cornell College commencement.
June 16	Addressed Iowa Authors Club, Des Moines.
June 21	Hawkeye Girls State, Grinnell.

The following persons were elected to membership in the Society from March 1 through May 31, 1950.

Algona
M. G. Norton
Mrs. D. D. Paxson
Mrs. Matthew J. Streit
Harley Troutman

Amana
Walter F. Schuerer

Ames
Ray C. Dankenbring
Henry Giese
Gladys E. Hamlin
Richard D. McConnell

Audubon
Robert E. Off

Belle Plaine
John F. Lahn

Bloomfield
Mrs. Benona Young

Boone
M. L. Abrahamson

Buffalo Center
Oscar W. Nelson

Burlington
Miss Mary L. Brown
Mrs. F. M. Holsteen
Miss Elizabeth Lilly
Mrs. Byron Riley
Miss Elsie A. Schinzel

Carroll
M. R. Tan Creti

Cedar Falls
High School

Cedar Rapids
R. W. Adamson
J. W. Ballard
James W. Crawford
Frank H. Dickson
O. J. Elsenbast
Norman E. Erickson
John R. Holmes
Mrs. Guy P. Linville
J. J. Locher, Jr.
Pat McPartland
Dr. W. J. Neuzil

Centerville
Henry C. Adams
Charles L. Johnston
George A. Milani
P. E. Norris
F. L. Sawyers

Chariton
Ed J. Larson

Charles City
John J. Dorwin

Clear Lake
Mrs. Donald R. Carr

Clinton
Eugene T. Burke
Miss Nellie F. Jones
Duane K. Schlotfeldt
Philo H. Tucker

Columbus Junction
Robert F. Reaney

Conrad
Paul Franzenburg, Jr.
Mrs. D. C. Reece
Mrs. Robert W. Rolston

Council Bluffs
D. B. Stoufer
Cresco
Maurice B. Jones
Creston
Miss Ruth Van Tress
Davenport
Mrs. Kathryn Bitzer
Miss Mary J. Bordwell
R. E. Burns
Ernest W. Davis
Henry E. Kuehl
Miss Mabel Miller
Miss Elizabeth E. Roberts
Dr. J. E. Rock
Edw. A. Schmidt
D. R. Steninger
Des Moines
W. G. Bengston
E. F. Buckley
C. L. Campbell
Mrs. Anna T. Davis
E. O. Fenton
C. B. Fletcher
Herbert H. Hauge
Cyrus Bussey Hillis
Roger Johnson
Mrs. E. L. Kaser
W. A. Kruse
Bernard D. Kurtz
Louis C. Kurtz, Jr.
H. F. Lessmann
W. E. Little
Mrs. Ronald H. Lynam
Eugene C. McGee
Cato F. Mann
Miss Bonnie Marshall
C. W. Phillips
J. A. Pollock
Mrs. George C. Rudasill
F. R. Sandy
G. R. Van Hyning
Dubuque
Dr. Robert L. Barton
Edward J. Beach
Henry Herrmann
George J. Homan
L. H. Kammueller
J. A. Loetscher
Samuel J. Rath
R. P. Roedell
Richard Roedell
Dr. Emmett J. Ryan
Fairfax
C. J. Knickerbocker
Fairfield
Aug. Van Lantschoot
Gilman
Mrs. R. W. Millen
Gladbrook
Lawrence C. Putney
Grand Junction
J. M. Wright
Grinnell
Mrs. Orpah C. Greene
Griswold
Miss Genevieve Reynolds
Guthrie Center
Maurice O. Leonard
Harlan
George Clausen
Homestead
Miss Henrietta J. Moershel

Iowa City
Dr. N. G. Alcock
Vincent A. Bell
Joe F. Crumley
Rev. Elmer E. Dierks
Charles L. Hicks
Bill E. McGuire
Robert Rozeboom
Rev. Charles S. Williams
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Miss Jean White, Memphis
Virginia
D. L. Wickens, Vienna
Wisconsin
Mrs. Elizabeth Shumway, Milwaukee

Iowa Historical Activities

Iowa's national monument, the Effigy Mounds National Park, was opened to public tours on June 15, 1950. Several trails are under construction and one has been completed which leads up a bluff containing a large bear mound and other smaller mounds. Superintendent William J. Kennedy says: "We have a fine group of mounds here, and scenery of great beauty. We are looking forward to taking people out and explaining these features to them."

The Trustees of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Society met at Cedar Rapids, March 9, 1950, to lay plans for the landscaping of the park surrounding the birthplace at West Branch. A twenty-five acre tract will be

landscaped, roads built, and eventually a museum will be constructed to house pioneer relics and such Hoover mementos as the family may provide.

Plans are under way for the formation of a Four County Historical Society, for the counties of Tama, Benton, Poweshiek, and Iowa. On April 5, 1950, thirty-two people met at Belle Plaine and took the preliminary steps toward this organization. Temporary officers and directors are: R. O. Burrows, Sr., president; George Raabe, vice-president; Mrs. E. H. Klink, secretary-treasurer. The board of directors includes: Rev. Walter Wendt, Mrs. R. C. Connor, Mrs. D. E. Vermace, Mrs. Chas. C. Gay, Charles E. Hughes, Lewis L. Falck, and Lynn Dankle. Charles E. Hughes was made chairman of the committee to draw up articles of incorporation and by-laws. Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the State Historical Society, addressed the meeting.

Members of the newly formed Dubuque County Historical Society have petitioned the park board at Dubuque to take steps to seal up the tower which houses the grave of Julien Dubuque, and to obtain an engraved stone slab to mark the site. Another project of the Society is the preservation of the pioneer log cabin in Eagle Point Park. Investigation of the cost of repairing the old shot tower is also being undertaken by the County Society.

The Tama County Historical Society, at its annual meeting on April 15, 1950, elected Mrs. W. G. MacMartin of Tama, president; L. P. Marsh of Toledo, vice-president; and E. A. Benson of Toledo, secretary-treasurer. The Society's exhibits are now housed in twenty-four glass cases in the Tama County courthouse.

At the tenth annual meeting of the Mahaska County Historical Society, May 10, 1950, the following officers were elected: Stillman Clark, president; J. C. Mattix, vice-president; Mrs. Earl Roberts, secretary; E. L. Butler, treasurer; W. M. Robinson, historian; and Hollis Crowell, curator.

The centennial of Calmar, Winneshiek County, will be observed from June through August. Dr. John Eichorn, the general chairman, has written a 152-page book on Calmar history as part of the celebration.

A meeting was held at Clarion on June 8, 1950, to form a Wright County

Historical Society. Tentative officers were: Ray Richardson, president; J. Ed Kirstein, vice-president; and Josephine Uhr, secretary and treasurer. O. H. Benson, former Wright County superintendent of schools and originator of the 4-H club movement, has suggested that he might be willing to turn over his records to Wright County if a society to preserve them is formed.

On May 28, 1950, a marker was dedicated at Croton which commemorates the northernmost battle of the Civil War which took place on August 5 and 6, 1861, at Athens, Missouri, and Croton, Iowa. Croton is on the Des Moines River, in Lee County. About 1,400 soldiers took part in the battle, which lasted about an hour before the Confederate cavalry retreated. One Iowan, William Spouse, was killed and is buried near the site of the marker.

The 100th anniversary of Manchester, Delaware County, will be celebrated September 14–17, 1950. To direct the centennial, a Manchester Centennial Association has been formed, with Lou Holbert, president; John Shores, vice-president; Maynard Spaight, secretary; and F. G. Gosling, treasurer.

The centennial of the Oskaloosa *Herald* was celebrated on June 27, 1950, with an address by Drew Pearson, Washington columnist and prominent American Quaker. A 100-page centennial edition of the *Herald* was issued on July 2.

The centennial of Ossian, Winneshiek County, was celebrated on June 16, 17, 18, 1950. The second town founded in the county, Ossian was named for John Ossian Porter, the first postmaster.

The Lions Club of Wapello is active in efforts to preserve the 110-year-old Louisa County courthouse. The possibility of forming a county historical society to care for the building is being discussed.

Other Historical Activities

The 1950 annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History will be held from August 28 through August 31 in Portland, Oregon.

The Historical Society of Michigan held a local history conference at Marquette, Michigan, on May 27, 1950.

The Nebraska History Teachers Association, meeting at Lincoln on April 14-15, 1950, voted to establish a provisional Nebraska Junior Historical Society to assist in the organization of junior historical societies in the schools of the state.

The 104th annual convention of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held at Ephraim, Wisconsin, June 16–18. E. E. Witte, chairman of the economics department of the University of Wisconsin, spoke at the annual banquet on "Labor in Wisconsin History." Other features of the three-day convention were boat rides, an evening of Czech and Bohemian folk songs and dances, and a picnic-pilgrimage to historic Door County.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth Century Reformer. By Carl Wittke. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1950. $4.50.) Those who have read George Schulz-Behrend's article, "Communia, Iowa: A Nineteenth-Century German-American Utopia," in the January, 1950, issue of the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY, will be interested in this new biography of Wilhelm Weitling, one of the leading spirits at Communia. Professor Wittke's biography of Weitling covers the social background of the period and the work of Weitling as a "nineteenth-century reformer." One chapter is devoted to the experiment at Communia.

Captain Sam Grant. By Lloyd Lewis. (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1950. $6.00.) Lloyd Lewis was at work on a projected four-volume biography of Ulysses S. Grant at the time of his death in April of 1949. *Captain Sam Grant,* the story of Grant's early years, is the only volume completed, and has been chosen as a selection of the History Book Club. "Sam" Grant, as he was known at West Point, had failed at almost everything he undertook up to the outbreak of the Civil War, from which he was to emerge as one of America's great generals. This biography of these years of failure throws new light on his youth and early manhood.

Young America, 1830–1840. By Robert E. Riegel. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. $5.00.) America in the 1830's was an "adolescent," much given to bragging, sure of future progress, and living in the midst of rapid changes in social and economic life. Dr. Riegel, in his study of this decade, gives a lively picture of "Young America" at work, at home, and at play.

Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company. By Boris Emmet & John E. Jeuck. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950. $7.50.) Richard W. Sears began business in 1886, selling watches by mail; in 1948 Sears, Roebuck and Company was the largest retailer of

general merchandise in the United States, with a sales volume exceeding two billion dollars. The authors have made an exhaustive study of the growth of one of the important American business enterprises and have produced a valuable contribution to economic history.

Pigs: From Cave to Corn Belt. By Charles Wayland Towne and Edward Norris Wentworth. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. $4.00.) This is a lively account of the pig from primitive boar to the modern highly-bred animal of the Corn Belt. Feeling that the pig, so important in the American economy, should receive as much attention as horses, cattle, and sheep, about whom many books have been written, the authors have produced a work which combines scholarship and humor in an economic history of the pig in American agriculture.

Frontier Justice. By Wayne Gard. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. $3.75.) Stories of frontier outlaws and sheriffs are part of the American heritage. *Frontier Justice* is a study of the transition, in the West and Southwest, from tomahawk to blood feuds, and from vigilante committees to the law enforcement of rangers, sheriffs, and judges. Mr. Gard has done a great deal of research in manuscripts, public records, and newspapers, and the story he has to tell is, therefore, authentic as well as colorful.

Articles

Dr. Earle D. Ross of Iowa State College has contributed an article to the April, 1950, issue of *Agricultural History*: "A Neglected Source of Corn Belt History: Prime's *Model Farms*."

The second number of the new historical magazine, *American Heritage* (Winter, 1950) is devoted to the centennial of Minnesota. In addition to several articles on Minnesota, there are also articles on the Chicago Railroad Fair, the oil industry, and Colonial Williamsburg, all profusely illustrated. The Spring, 1950, issue deals with California's "100 golden years," plus articles on American folk heroes, explorers of the Ohio River, and the Freedom Train.

Two articles of interest in the Spring, 1950, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are "The Frontier in Illinois History," by

Ray A. Billington, and "Changing Urban Patterns in the Mississippi Valley," by Bessie Louise Pierce.

Part XI of "The Pictorial Record of the Old West," by Robert Taft, deals with the work of Joseph Becker, Harry Ogden, and Walter Yeager and appears in the May, 1950, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. Other articles in the same issue are: "A Review of Early Navigation of the Kansas River," and "The First Survey of the Kansas River," both by Edgar Langsdorf; and the conclusion of "Lincoln College, Forerunner of Washburn Municipal University," by Russell K. Hickman.

That the supposed plot to assassinate Abraham Lincoln as he passed through Baltimore on his way to his inauguration in 1861 was merely a scheme of the detective, Allen Pinkerton, to advertise himself is the theme of Edward Stanley Lanis' article, "Allen Pinkerton and the Baltimore 'Assassination' Plot Against Lincoln," in the March, 1950, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

The March, 1950, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following articles: "The Genesis of the Oregon Question," by Frederick Merk; "The Election Tactics of the Nonpartisan League," by Samuel P. Huntington; "The Newspaper Reporter and the Kansas Imbroglio," by Bernard A. Weisberger; "France and Louisiana in the Early Eighteenth Century," by Marcel Giraud; and "The Rich, the Well-Born, and Alexander Hamilton," by Thomas P. Govan.

The April, 1950, issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains the first of a series of Civil War letters written by Colonel Bazel F. Lazear to his wife during the years 1861–1865. Colonel Lazear was a member of the Home Guards in Missouri, supporters of the Union cause.

"Lines West! — The Story of George W. Holdrege," by Thomas M. Davis, in the March, 1950, issue of *Nebraska History*, is the first of a series of three articles on the builder of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad in Nebraska, later to become part of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy system. Holdrege's connection with the road began in 1869 as chief clerk to the paymaster at a salary of a dollar per day; he retired as General Manager in 1921.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of William Jennings Bryan is being commemorated in *Nebraska History* by a series of articles on his life. The first of these articles, "The Youth of William Jennings Bryan — Beginnings of a Christian Statesman," by Paolo E. Coletta, appears in the March, 1950, issue.

Richard B. Morris, professor of history at Columbia University, spoke in Cooperstown, New York, on September 9, 1949, on "Freedom of Expression: Its Past and Its Future." His address is published in the April, 1950, issue of *New York History*.

A report on the third conference on American history, held under the auspices of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is published in the April, 1950, issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. The topic for this conference, held in February, 1950, was a comparison of the European and American training in graduate study in history. No formal papers were presented; the conference devoted its time to general discussion, which was transcribed for publication.

Missouri's justly famous Senator, Thomas Hart Benton, spent his "formative years in Tennessee." William N. Chambers has contributed an article covering these years to the December, 1949, issue of the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, entitled "Thomas Hart Benton in Tennessee, 1801–1812."

Iowa

Articles on Iowa history in the April, 1950, issue of *Annals of Iowa* are: "Centennial of Federal Court in Iowa," edited by Emory H. English; "Kasson Letters — Austria and Germany," edited by Eunice Wead; "Audubon County's 'Troublesome Gang,'" by Judge H. J. Mantz; and "The Bench, Bar and Courts in Benton County," by J. F. Traer.

Two articles on "The Malfeasance of William Worth Belknap," by Robert C. Prickett, appear in the January and April, 1950, issues of *North Dakota History*. W. W. Belknap of Iowa was Secretary of War in the cabinet of U. S. Grant.

Dike, Grundy County, celebrated its Golden Jubilee on June 1 and 2, 1950. The town came into existence when the North Western Railroad built a branch line across the northeastern part of Grundy County, and was

named for Chester Thomas Dike, chief engineer of the promotional company hired to lay out new towns along the line. A short history of Dike appeared in the May 28, 1950, issue of the Waterloo *Courier*.

Clutier in Tama County was founded in 1900. As part of the Golden Jubilee this year, the editor of the Traer *Star Clipper* is re-publishing stories of the founding of Clutier as they appeared in his paper in 1900. The first reprint was published in the May 19, 1950, issue.

An unusual Civil War relic, a flag carried by the Norwegian-American regiment through twenty-three battles and on Sherman's "march to the sea" is on display at the Norwegian-American Museum at Decorah. The story of the flag and its preservation appeared in the April 6, 1950, issue of the Decorah *Public Opinion*. An account of the Museum and its director, Mrs. Inga B. Norstog, appeared in the March 9, 1950, issue of the same paper.

The Hanna Caldwell chapter of the Daughters of the Ameriacn Revolution has in its possession the first flag to be flown from the first bridge over the Mississippi at Davenport, in 1856. When the bridge was burned, after being rammed by the steamboat *Effie Afton*, someone rescued the flag. The story of the flag, with a picture, appeared in the April 23, 1950, issue of the Davenport *Democrat*.

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COVER

"The Old Brick Capitol" at Des Moines. In this building Cyrus Clay Carpenter was inaugurated governor in January, 1872. Picture from the files of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

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THE EARLY LIFE OF WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON*

By Leland L. Sage

In 1896 Iowa's beloved Senator William Boyd Allison was making a second effort to secure the Republican nomination for the presidency. The prize had eluded him in 1888 and now he must succeed or make a graceful retirement into the ranks of the country's elder statesmen. He was sixty-seven years old and could look back over a life full of triumphs and disappointments. No doubt he wanted desperately to be president; he could justifiably feel a certain bitterness over the caprice of fate whereby he had lost out to Benjamin Harrison in 1888. Nevertheless, in 1896, the prospects were not bright. A Cleveland millionaire, Mark Hanna, had sometime since taken it into his head to secure the nomination for Major William McKinley, and his campaign had been organized and executed with all the thoroughness of a military operation and supported with all the necessary resources.

Allison's manager, James S. Clarkson, formerly editor of the Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, and known far and wide by his nickname and pen name, "Ret,"[1] was becoming anxious and concerned over the reports of the progress of their rival. Several months were yet to pass before the nominating convention at St. Louis, but Mark Hanna had been at work for months.

The first thing needed to put the Allison campaign on a good footing was a biography. As a good newspaperman, Clarkson envisaged something journalistic in nature with a popular appeal. No one could have done the job better than Ret himself, but his time must be given to other aspects of the

*This article is based on a full-length biography of William B. Allison which Dr. Sage is preparing.

[1] Clarkson's nickname, "Ret," was derived from the abbreviation for the word "return." All his editorial copy sent to the typesetters was marked "Ret." in order to insure the return of the printed form to him for personal proofreading. This was due to his notoriously wretched handwriting. Typesetters who were able to master his scrawl were paid premium rates, called "phat," for setting his copy. See the Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Jan. 24, 1909. For brief articles on Clarkson, see Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:54-5; George Mills, "The Des Moines Register," *The Palimpsest*, 30:283–9 (September, 1949).

work. For this biography for the daily press he turned to Cyrenus Cole of the *Iowa State Register*. Cole had been honored by visits from Allison right in his own cubbyhole in the *Register* editorial rooms and had become the Senator's devoted follower for life.[2] Unfortunately Clarkson ran into an obstacle in the form of a man of letters, S. H. M. Byers, who felt that he had certain prior rights in the facts because of an Allison biography he had in mind.[3]

So Ret was forced to write to Allison:

> Dear Senator:
>
> Cole telegraphs me that Byers insists that he shall leave out of his sketch the part referring to your early life and home life, saying it will interfere with his book which he says he is going to write about you sometime. I have telegraphed Cole that the request is absurd and little short of impudent; that I consider that the best part of his article and the very side of you that we want to get before the public. I am surprised that Byers should want to defer matter of this kind when it can be made to help you so much in the campaign as I believe, in order to make his book more interesting. It shows how a man will job in things at the expense of great campaigns. So little has ever been written of your early life and your home life that all the newspapers I am sure will be glad to take this part of Cole's articles. I think the *Herald* here and in Boston and the Philadelphia *Press* will all be glad to take these two parts of the article and they will do good wherever they are printed.[4]

Cole's articles were printed and perhaps no more than the usual liberties were taken for this species of literature.[5] They did not do the Senator much good, however, because the Cleveland millionaire sewed up so many votes for McKinley in advance of the convention that the Allison boosters decided to save their time and money and cancelled their convention specials from Des Moines to St. Louis. In this case Ret Clarkson was a better historian than a politician. His acute observation, "so little has ever been written of your early life and your home life," remains a valid one to this day. No

[2] Cyrenus Cole, *I Remember I Remember . . .* (Iowa City, 1936), 201, 231–3.

[3] For Samuel H. M. Byers, see Gue, *History of Iowa . . .*, 4:36.

[4] Clarkson to Allison, February 3, 1896, Box 302, *Allison Papers* (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines).

[5] Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Feb. 9, 1896, devoted more than one full page to the sketch. Hereinafter referred to as "The Campaign Biography of 1896."

specialized treatment has ever been made of this phase of Allison's life; if Major Byers ever wrote a book, leisurely or otherwise, it has never seen the light of day.

In spite of a variety of slightly conflicting statements on the subject, it should be possible to accept the one that Allison was born on a farm in Perry Township, Wayne County (now in Ashland County), Ohio, and the date of birth as March 2, 1829. Such was the information handed down to the boy and he passed it on to the editor of the first *Congressional Directory* forty years later.[6] His father, John Allison, was born near Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, in 1798, the tenth and last child of a certain Matthew Allison born in the north of Ireland in 1750.[7] His mother was Margaret Williams before her marriage to John Allison. It has been ascertained that a Williams family of some prominence lived in Bellefonte in 1824 and owned several houses and lots. The *Book of Marriages* of Wayne County, Ohio, gives December 2, 1824, as the date of the marriage. Nearly all that we authentically know about Mrs. Allison is given by a small, weathered headstone with barely legible inscription, found over her grave in the little cemetery in the hamlet of Rowsburg, near the family home. The inscription tells the reader that she died on October 10, 1861, aged sixty-two years, two months, two days.[8]

Her distinguished son was wont to say in later days that his middle name, Boyd, came from his mother's folks and that his forebears on both sides were Scotch-Irish. One of the Senator's friends wrote the following in a short sketch of his life: "His mother was a fine specimen of the matrons of those days, and her strong mind, quick apprehension, and executive capacity was [*sic*] inherited by her son."[9] The author of those words did not know Mrs. John Allison and could have received this characterization only from her son or a secondary source.

[6] Ben: Perley Poore (comp.), *The Congressional Directory . . . 1869*. This is the first *Directory* with biographical notices about the members of Congress.

[7] See Dubuque *Daily Times*, Jan. 7, 1884, for an obituary article on John Allison.

[8] Data supplied to the author by Attorney J. Thomas Mitchell of Bellefonte, Pa., June 26, 1950, and by Mrs. Emma B. Hawley of the Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland, Ohio. The tombstone was seen and noted by the author on a personal tour of Perry Township, April 27, 1947, in company with Mr. Ed. M. Dunner, a venerable citizen of Rowsburg.

[9] Ben: Perley Poore. A typewritten manuscript biography by this author is to be found in Box 1, *Allison Papers*. Poore, a Washington journalist, was a personal friend of Allison's. Hereinafter referred to as the *Poore Ms.*

John Allison acquired a farm in Wayne Township and settled down to the frontiersman's life of clearing the forest and putting the plough to the soil. The farm was on good level land of at least average fertility.[10] The family did not grow rich but seems to have lived a good life comparable to that of their neighbors. Three children were born to the Allisons: Matthew, born October 20, 1827; William Boyd, March 2, 1829; James Harrison, July 27, 1835.[11] All three sons eventually emigrated to Iowa, as did the father. The family evidently stood well in the community. Father John was many times a justice of the peace, a staunch Whig,[12] and a member of the Mount Hope Presbyterian Church where the family attended services regularly and faithfully. Many years later a friend of these boyhood days wrote to the Senator: "The early teachings we received when boys in the homes of our good parents and from the pulpit of Old Mount Hope Meeting House, laid the foundations for what you are as a statesman and for what I am as a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ."[13]

In short, the Allisons were a part of the great migration that filled up the state of Ohio and transformed it from the wilderness of the 1790's to the well-developed, widely populated state of 1850.[14] As we are all a part of all that we have met, it is of value to see something of this background which nourished the future Senator.

First of all, Ohio is indebted to a New England wave that washed across New York State and northeastern Pennsylvania and finally deposited its burden in the upper northeast corner of Ohio. Many of the pioneers came from Connecticut and settled down in the lands reserved by that state, the

[10] The author made a personal visit to the old Allison homestead on April 27, 1947.

[11] Data supplied by Fred H. Allison, Belmond, Iowa, a grandnephew of William Boyd Allison.

[12] H. S. Knapp, *A History of the Pioneer and Modern Times of Ashland County* (Philadelphia, 1863), 428-9. The dates of his commissions are given as March 1, 1830; March 1, 1833; March 25, 1836; March 19, 1839. Jeannette P. Nichols, "William Boyd Allison," *The Dictionary of American Biography*, 1:220–22.

[13] The Reverend David A. Cunningham to Allison, Feb. 27, 1884, Box 37, *Allison Papers*. Mr. Cunningham was at the time pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Wheeling, West Virginia.

[14] Ohio is fortunate in its possession of scholars who have produced a magnificent six-volume work entitled *The History of the State of Ohio* (Columbus, 1940–1944). Of this series, Vol. III, *The Passing of the Frontier, 1825–1850* (1941) by Francis P. Weisenburger, and Vol IV, *The Civil War Era, 1850–1873* (1944) by Eugene H. Roseboom are excellent background for the years of the Allison family residence in Ohio. A briefer work is Roseboom and Weisenburger, *The History of Ohio* (New York, 1934).

famous "Western Reserve," an area that began at the Pennsylvania-Ohio boundary and extended west to a line about forty miles beyond Cleveland and south from the lake shore to the forty-second parallel. They brought with them their ideas on religion, education, and architecture, and stamped the whole region with the New England influence, intellectually and artistically.[15] The influence was to be seen and felt at the time of Allison's youth nowhere more than in the beautiful town of Hudson, "a piece of old New England projected into Connecticut's Western Reserve," the site of Western Reserve College. Up to 1850 the Industrial Revolution had not yet invaded this area extensively.

> During the previous quarter-century, when New England itself was being veritably transformed by the rapid inroads of modern industrialism and of the Irish immigrant, this newer New England was still following, in the main, an agricultural life in which the foreign-born played little part. As Quebec was, in a sense, more like Old France than France itself, the Western Reserve was in some respects more like the land of the old-time Puritan than the region east of the Hudson.[16]

The second wave of migration was mostly made up of Scotch-Irish settlers who came to Ohio by way of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.[17] Very obviously the Allisons belonged to this wave. These migrants settled in the central and southern tiers of counties and tended to move farther west than had the New Englanders, who waited some time before they sent settlers on to the other western states.[18] It has been claimed that these Scotch-Irish were the most valuable element in the make-up of the American people.[19] "The Irish who came to Ohio before 1825 were largely Scotch-Irish, many of whom had lived for a time in the Middle States or in Virginia or Kentucky. Most of them were Ulster Prot-

[15] Weisenburger, *Passing of the Frontier . . .*, 10. See Works Progress Administration, *The Ohio Guide* (New York, 1940), for evidence of the carryover of the New England influence to the present day. Also see Harlan Hatcher, *The Western Reserve* (Indianapolis, 1949); Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus* (New York, 1950).

[16] Weisenburger, *Passing of the Frontier . . .*, 81.

[17] *Ibid.*, 53; Robert E. Chaddock, *Ohio Before 1850: A Study of the Early Influence of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio* (New York, 1908), 31–4; *History of Wayne County* [Ohio] (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1910), 1:108.

[18] Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus, passim*, gives a fascinating account of the New England influence at work in the West. Chapter X deals with Iowa.

[19] William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, Vol. II, *The Presbyterians, 1783–1840* (New York, 1936), 21-2.

estants like James Wilson, who became a Steubenville editor, and was destined to be the grandfather of [Woodrow Wilson]."[20] The same general statement could be made for the Allisons. By virtue of his family connections and residence in Wayne and Ashland counties, William Boyd Allison enjoyed to the highest degree the legacy of these people. At the same time, by virtue of proximity to the Western Reserve and by schooling at Allegheny College at Meadville, Pennsylvania, and Western Reserve College at Hudson, he benefited from the acquired characteristics of the New England influence.

A third wave of settlers came from the South, principally from the vast state of Virginia as it was then organized, and from trans-river Kentucky. These people, too, brought their culture with them — their manners, their architecture, their ideas pro and con slavery. A few of them were abolitionists, many of them were voluntary emancipators of their slaves, some believed in some form of gradual emancipation and colonization, and many, especially in and near Cincinnati, were still proslavery or at least states' rights people. The Allisons were far removed from these people in residence and in ideas.

As stated above, Allison left virtually no evidence on his boyhood and early manhood.[21] The story has to be pieced together from many widely divergent sources. A few facts and impressions can be gained by study of the career of one of his boyhood companions and schoolmates, Clement (Clem) Studebaker, of wagon and automobile fame. Clem and his four brothers and their father, John, lived only a mile or so from the Allison farm.[22] In 1897, on the occasion of a civic "reunion," Studebaker returned to Ashland as a hero of the Industrial Revolution. He made a rather affecting reminiscent speech and then toured the surrounding country to revisit the scenes of his childhood, coupling himself in retrospective memory with the worthy Senator who was then at the height of his fame and power. The Studebakers, like the Allisons, had come from Pennsylvania but had

[20] Weisenburger, *Passing of the Frontier . . .*, 53-4; A. S. Link, *Wilson, The Road to the White House* (Princeton, 1947), 1.

[21] The *Allison Papers* have only a few scattered items before 1870.

[22] Allison to C. A. Carlisle, Sept. 14, 1906, Box 13, *Allison Papers*, expresses his regret in his inability to attend a cornerstone-laying ceremony of the South Bend, Indiana, Y. M. C. A., named in honor of the five Studebaker brothers. He tells Carlisle that he knew them well as boys. See Russell H. Anderson, "Clement Studebaker," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 18:180-81.

fallen upon evil days for a time. Some of the boys were put out to work by their father. It seems fair to assume that young Allison, who also "worked out," should have known the same people and should have had the same boyhood experiences as young Clem Studebaker. Two items stand out in Clem's reminiscences. The stenographic notes taken on the tour read as follows: "Driving north on the Jeromesville and Polk road we stopped at Enoch Buchanan's. . . . Just east of Buchanan's, on the Rowsburg Road, Clem pointed out the site of the old schoolhouse, where he first attended school. Senator William B. Allison was a pupil at the same time." The other item reads:

> The first stop . . . was at the old Daniel Carter house and farm on the Wooster Road. Clem stated that he had worked on this farm for Carter fifty years ago at four dollars a month. He helped the girls churn butter, milked the cows, helped with the washing, did all kinds of work on the farm, and spent some of the happiest days of his life at this place. Mrs. Carter was a remarkable woman. Daniel Carter was one of the active movers in getting the new county, Ashland, formed. . . .[23]

Let the reader mark this passage well. Perhaps the boy, Bill Allison, worked here or visited here with his friend Clem. We are interested because not many years later, in 1854, a young attorney, William Boyd Allison, will claim one of the Carter girls for his bride.

Young William had better than average cultural opportunities for his day. In his home and in most of the other Presbyterian homes of the frontier, church-going was virtually as much an educational program as a religious interest. The Presbyterians, like the Congregationalists and Episcopalians, were more concerned over an educated ministry than some other denominations of the developing frontier. They also were concerned over the education of the rank and file membership. "The net result of this emphasis was to make almost every Presbyterian preacher in the west, a school master."[24] As stated above, the Allisons were members of Mount Hope Presbyterian Church.

It is very nearly correct to say that church-going and school-going were twin activities of Allison's youth. After attendance in the country school where he was a schoolmate of the Studebaker brothers, he was sent to the

[23] Ashland (Ohio) *Times*, Oct. 13, 1897.

[24] Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, 2:9.

village of Wooster, some twenty miles away, for tuition in Professor Parrot's Academy. Diligent inquiry and research have turned up no information regarding such an academy, but Allison mentioned it prominently and apparently with pride in the short biographical sketches written or authorized by himself. Education then as now seems to have been a prime interest of the good Scotch Presbyterian settlers of Wooster. The first school was started three years before the town's formal incorporation in 1817.[25] The farm boy did not cut a very fine figure among his mates if we may judge by this account, evidently written by a schoolmate:

> William B. Allison was born in Perry, Wayne county, Ohio, March 2, 1829. At school he was somewhat familiarly known as "Big-Eyed Bill;" and the girls of those days about Wooster, Ohio, used to laugh at the awkward and overgrown youngster, who took it good humoredly, however, and soon showed that he had good stuff in him. A lady who was in school with him says:
>
> "Little did any of us think that boy would ever amount to anything. He was at the foot of our class and the butt of all, he was such a greenhorn. He lived on a farm, and walked into Wooster every day to school. He never wore any suspenders, and was always hitching up his trousers like a sailor. When we girls made fun of him he would run after us, and if he caught one that girl was sure to be kissed. And he had a horrible tobacco breath. I believe that boy chewed tobacco from the time he put on boy's clothes. But he was kind hearted and would never tell the teacher, no matter what we put on him. Yes, 'Big-Eyed Bill' was patient as an ox."

The author of this bit of personal remembrance goes on to reassure us that the boy "has grown into much more manly and graceful shape, and has acquired great mastery of the world's ways . . . and in personal intercourse, [is] quite polished and agreeable."[26]

This comment is in part a testimonial to the efficacy of the polishing process in two of the better colleges of the day. A decision to send Allison "back East" to Pennsylvania, the land of his fathers, probably entailed a good deal of intrafamily debate and sacrifice. The 1896 campaign biogra-

[25] WPA, *The Ohio Guide*, 421-2.

[26] Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* . . . (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1902), 2:841. The sentence, "He lived on a farm, and walked into Wooster every day to school," suggests that he boarded with relatives or friends. The home farm was about twenty miles from Wooster, too far for daily commuting at that time.

phy says that he went to Allegheny College through the influence of some acquaintances in Wooster and that he walked or rode in wagons to Meadville. The centennial history of the college refers to him as a member of the class of '52, coming from "Perry, Ohio" in 1848. Actually he was enrolled in the preparatory academy which was conducted in conjunction with the college.[27]

Among Allison's contemporaries at Allegheny was Cyrus K. Holliday, with whom he kept house and "got up" meals. Holliday later helped found the Republican party in Kansas and was an organizer and president of the Santa Fe railway. John F. Duncombe, later a famous attorney and Democratic leader at Fort Dodge, Iowa, and a staunch opponent of Allison's party over Civil War issues and policies, was also a student there, as was Aylett R. Cotton, later a member of the Iowa State Constitutional Convention of 1857, a member of the state legislature and the House of Representatives at Washington, and finally a judge at San Francisco.[28]

One is driven to some sort of controlled historical speculation as to the effect of the Allegheny experience on Allison. His attendance there fell during the thirteen-year regime of President John Barker, one of the brighter periods during the early years of struggle for survival so common to all frontier or "fresh water" colleges. The academy and college students were treated very much alike. As one of approximately 175 academy students, the young Ohioan could have joined with others to hear the sparkling debates between Allegheny's professor of mathematics, Calvin Kingsley (later a Methodist bishop), and President Stebbins of the newly founded rival, the Meadville Theological Seminary, champions, respectively, of orthodox Trinitarianism and Unitarianism. If this did not attract his Presbyterian ears, surely there were hot discussions of the issues arising from the war with Mexico. The all-important literary societies furnished ample outlets for the interests and energies of all.[29] Apparently, Allison and Cotton could find here the influences that led on to strong Whig-Republican sentiments, while John F. Duncombe could become a brilliant exponent of the views of the "Peace Democrats" in 1861–1865.

[27] E. A. Smith, *Allegheny. A Century of Education* (Meadville, Pennsylvania, 1916), 446. Letter to the author from Mr. C. S. Miller, Director of Alumni Relations, July 9, 1945.

[28] "The Campaign Biography of 1896"; Smith, *Allegheny . . .*, 149, 450.

[29] This paragraph based on Smith, *Allegheny . . .*, *passim*.

There is no documentation to indicate any religious influence on the twenty-year-old student from Ohio. Allegheny College, founded in 1817 by a Presbyterian minister who hoped to reproduce his beloved alma mater, Harvard College, in the West, had been lost by the Presbyterians to the Methodists who took over the remains of the institution in 1833. They managed to keep it alive until post-Civil War prosperity enabled it to develop into one of the strongest colleges in the country. Yet the college was not narrowly sectarian. "Boys of many creeds came freely to the halls of Bentley [the original college building]."[30] Allison left no record of personal religious conviction. He was never the kind of person who would talk freely about a thing so personal as religious experience.

The record is furthermore blank as to Allison's failure to return to the "halls of Bentley." Perhaps a lack of funds affected the decision, although the outlay was small in view of the housekeeping arrangements he shared with Cyrus Holliday. "With eggs at four cents a dozen, the expense could be held to fifty cents a week." It seems to have been a common experience to attend a similarly brief period.

> It was officially stated that of the throng which came to Meadville from 1847 to 1854 to spend but two or three terms or possibly two years at their studies, very few when they left went to other institutions of learning. Allegheny supplied them the college instruction of their careers and inspired them to subsequent intellectual endeavors. . . . In this class of students in 1848 entered William B. Allison of Ashland County, Ohio, the future Senator from Iowa.[31]

Allison soon transferred to another institution, but before enrolling, he interrupted his course by following the familiar frontier pattern of so many lawyer-politicians in the making — he became a school teacher. The fact is mentioned casually in the biographical sketches, and only one letter has been found in all the thousands he preserved which refers to his experience as a teacher. It is a touching message and evidently hit upon the truth, else it would not have been preserved. It deserves quotation in full and one can only regret the inability to recover the Senator's answer:

[30] Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War* . . . (New York, 1932), 70-71, 71n, 109; Smith, *Allegheny* . . ., 140, Ch. 3.

[31] Smith, *Allegheny* . . ., 137.

Coupeville, Id. Co. Washington Ty.
January 5, 1886.

Hon. W. B. Allison:

Dear Sir: My only apology in writing to you (apparently a stranger) is to ascertain if you are not my well beloved teacher of early childhood days. If you are the W. B. Allison who taught school in Cambridge, Ohio, you will remember Sarah Oldheim one of your pupils who has never forgotten you. I am that pupil: now Sadie Cook.

Do you remember staying all night at my father's just before you left for the West. And the premium you gave me for good behaviour in school. How I prized it. I remember how you would tease Maggie Hyatt when she got mad. How many changes since then. I have taught in the same old school house since then. You for many years have held a position of honor and trust as Senator at Washington. . . . I want to ask a favor. If you are from Cambridge (as I feel sure you are) to write and send me a photograph. It is something I would prize very much. Hoping you will pardon my presumption in writing you, I am very sincerely your friend,

Sadie A. Cook[32]

At this period of his life Allison probably taught several terms of "country school." A letter from the Reverend David A. Cunningham implies that both he and Allison taught school in the Perry Township neighborhood and that they attended old-fashioned spelling-bees together. "When you and I were young school teachers I never forget [*sic*] the spelling school or match we had one night at the Jones School house."[33]

After this interlude of school teaching came what was surely the most exciting year of his life to that date, a year at Western Reserve College in Hudson, in the very heart of the New England of the West. Allison, twenty-one and out in the world more than the average young man of his community, was in a fair way toward learning something of real importance. The issues of the day culminating in the Compromise of 1850 were very much in the air. The Allisons were Whigs and father John was something of a local leader. So it is quite reasonable to assume that a young man of normal interest in public affairs would be alive to the question of the extension and expansion of the South's "peculiar institution." In going to Western Reserve he was entering a hotbed of interest in the subject.

[32] Sadie A. Cook to Allison, Jan. 5, 1886, Box 37, *Allison Papers.*

[33] Cunningham to Allison, Feb. 27, 1884, Box 37, *Allison Papers.*

In accounting for the "antislavery impulse" and the power acquired by the Republican party in the West, religion is a factor that has not received due attention. The sectionalism in the politics producing the Civil War was a realignment in which the agricultural West forsook the agricultural South and joined up with the urbanized, industrialized East, an action running counter to all the laws of political behavior.[34] This unnatural partnership was based on a common opposition to slavery. (Of course other factors such as a high tariff and a homestead law had to be added to secure both mass appeal and the support of wealth.) But what was at the bottom of this strong antislavery feeling that ran from New England to Pennsylvania and out to Iowa? Many factors enter into the explanation, of course, but the influence of religion has been the one most neglected by the historians until recently.

Beginning with the work of Professor Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, a large body of literature has been growing up to serve as documentation for this interpretation.[35] It is the contention of Professor Barnes that the older view which minimized the movement of the 1830's and attributed the rising antislavery sentiment of the 1840's and 1850's to economic factors must be modified. He contends that the evangelistic movement, led by Charles Grandison Finney and carried on by Theodore Dwight Weld and others, contributed vastly to the creation, organization, and effectiveness of an antislavery movement which began in the Middle West, spread back to the East, and outward into the newer West. It was closely related to the founding and growth of such colleges as Oberlin, Western Reserve, Knox, and Beloit; it supported its own press; and it maintained a lobby in Washington which furnished vast accumulations of facts and ideas for the use of Congressmen. This is not the place to take up the cudgels in defense of any one interpretation of the "antislavery impulse," and besides, it is not necessary to reject the contribution of the economic factor, the political manip-

[34] Avery O. Craven, *The Repressible Conflict, 1830–1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 1939).

[35] G. H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse* (New York, 1933); G. H. Barnes and D. F. Dumond (eds.), *The Weld-Grimke Letters* (New York, 1934); Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, Vol. II, *The Presbyterians . . .*, Vol. III, *The Congregationalists . . .*, Gaius Glenn Atkins and F. L. Fagley, *History of American Congregationalism* (Boston, 1942); Robert S. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College* (2 vols., Oberlin, 1943); Frederick W. Waite, *A History of Western Reserve College. The Hudson Era* (Cleveland, 1941); C. Bruce Staiger, "Abolitionism and the Presbyterian Schism of 1837-1838," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 36:391–414 (December, 1949).

ulations, the personality factor, or any others known or unknown.[36] But he who would know the forces that shaped William Boyd Allison and his Ohio compatriots who came to Iowa and helped to form a political party that has dominated the state much of the time since 1856, must make due allowances for the influence of religion in the formation of the party and for religious institutional activities in behalf of the party.

In view of the above assertions, it may seem strange to have to admit that Allison himself was not deeply religious in the ordinary meaning of that term. Nevertheless, his whole background was steeped in religion; his home life and his academic sojourns at Wooster and Allegheny were totally surrounded by religion; and at Western Reserve College he was plunged into a highly charged religious situation in which antislavery agitation springing from evangelistic sources was a great tradition. Hence it can be safely asserted that he understood and associated himself with religion.[37]

It was his misfortune to matriculate in this "Yale of the West" at a time when the college's affairs were in a stage of crisis and its very continuance doubtful. Financial difficulties, the bane of the existence of all such little denominational colleges, were no less present at Western Reserve College than anywhere else. Allison was one of but fifty-three students, and the entire faculty consisted of President George Edward Pierce, one professor, and one tutor.[38]

For reasons not known, one year was the limit of time allowed to Allison amongst the Presbyterians of the Western Reserve and their educational capital at Hudson. It undoubtedly put him into close contact over a prolonged time with the most pronounced religious background for antislavery agitation and gave him a chance to learn to work with people of this attitude even though his own personal traits would never allow him to express himself in this manner. A short time later the people of the Reserve became

[36] John R. Commons, "Horace Greeley and the Working Class Origins of the Republican Party," *Political Science Quarterly*, 24:468–88 (September, 1909); W. E. Binkley, *American Political Parties: Their Natural History* (New York, 1943), Chapters 8 and 9. Professor Binkley makes many references to the religious backgrounds and their eventual effects on the Republican party.

[37] Allison became a pewholder in the Second Presbyterian Church at Dubuque but never a full-fledged member. Reverend Gaylord Couchman to the author, October 21, 1947.

[38] See Carroll Cutler, *A History of Western Reserve College* (Cleveland, 1876); Helen Kitzmiller, *One Hundred Years of Western Reserve* (Hudson, 1926).

famous for their thoroughgoing Republicanism, so much so that when an Iowan wanted to report to an Ohioan on the enthusiastic Republicanism of northern Iowa, he knowingly compared it to Western Reserve.[39] A Democratic editor in Cleveland, suffering under Republican zeal and recognizing its true source, broke out with a veritable rage of pain: "Those old blue law, blue bellied Presbyterians that hung the witches and banished the Quakers, are determined to convert the people of this region into a race of psalm singers, using the degenerate dregs of the old puritans remaining here to drive the Democracy out."[40]

The next two years in Allison's life can be followed in outline though not as to exact chronological details month by month. He returned to Wooster, the scene of his previous study in Professor Parrot's Academy, this time to read law in the office of Hemphill and Turner.[41] His older brother, Matthew, had located here as a drygoods merchant[42] and there is some reason for thinking this might have influenced William's choice of Wooster, or perhaps the same friends who had influenced him to go to Allegheny College now advised him to return to Wooster. After less than a year's study he was admitted to the bar, a much less significant accomplishment at that time than would now be the case. A venerable practitioner of today, whose memory and knowledge stretch back well into the last century, describes the method whereby a young man might become a lawyer:

> . . . the early records of admission of lawyers to practice are very skimpy in Ohio. He might have been admitted to practice in Wooster, as in his day the examination was before a judge and it was only theoretical, and in the day of Allison a student in the law registered under a practicing attorney and after a couple of years of building fires and sweeping out the office and running errands for the lawyer and listening to the legal discussions and attending court when it was in session, the tutor of the student

[39] James W. Grimes to Salmon P. Chase, quoted in William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes . . .* (New York, 1876), 54.

[40] Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Dec. 3, 1856, quoted in Roseboom, *The Civil War Era . . .*, 323.

[41] *Poore Ms.* There is a possibility that he studied for some time with a lawyer named Eugene Pardee. Allison received a letter from a close friend, N. E. Dawson of Burlington, September 19, 1894, saying he had met Pardee's son, who claimed this honor for his father. If so, Allison was studying with a leader of the Wooster bar and a staunch antislavery man. See Ben Douglas, *History of the Lawyers of Wayne County, Ohio* (Wooster, Ohio, 1900), 256-7.

[42] Obituary notice of Matthew Allison in the Dubuque *Times*, April 17, 1874.

> would recommend him to the judge and the judge would formally sign a paper admitting him to practice, and that was the way Allison probably was admitted. They went on the theory in those days that if the lawyer did not know any law he would gravitate to where he belonged.[43]

Allison chose Ashland for the place to hang out his first shingle. There would seem to be several good reasons for this move. In 1846 his township, Perry, and three others in the same range had been joined to other townships for the creation of Ashland County. Ashland, a new and growing county seat, might offer legal business to the young lawyer back from his travels and studies. It was a flourishing small town only three or four miles from the scenes of his boyhood and from his father's home. Old family friends and neighbors would be potential clients. Furthermore, a friend of the family, Jacob O. Jennings, the county clerk, could offer clerical work in conveyancing and other legal routines which would increase his legal learning and at the same time eke out his earnings while getting a start.[44]

Allison's practice was admittedly small and most of his time was spent in reading works on government, economics, and history.[45] He apparently had a difficult time getting along with his law partners. There were three partnerships in four years: first with a J. W. Smith; second, with Bolivar W. Kellogg; and finally with one William Osborn.[46]

In spite of partnership troubles and a meager income, Allison carried off a wedding in 1854, into the county's first family, the Daniel Carters, who were from Maryland and Pennsylvania. Daniel Carter built the first cabin in the township which contains the present city of Ashland.[47] Anna Carter was the lady's name although it was frequently written as "Anne" or

[43] Judge Lyman R. Critchfield, Wooster, Ohio, to the author, August 7, 1947.

[44] *Poore Ms.* The name of Jennings as clerk of courts was furnished to the author through the kindness of C. O. McGuire, clerk of courts, Ashland, Ohio, September, 1947.

[45] *Poore Ms.*

[46] The advertisements of these three law partnerships can be followed in the columns of the Ashland *Times* and the Ashland *Union*, 1853 to 1857. In 1870 Allison received this letter from Smith: ". . . I am still trudging along — practising law. You see my boy stands in the place [partner] where you once did. Turning to our old Book Record of cases, I read thus — 'Here commences the Record of Smith & Allison copartnership of business dating from Sept. 15, 1851.'" J. W. Smith to Allison, Nov. 3, 1870, Box 2, *Allison Papers.*

[47] Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio . . .*, 1:251.

"Ann." The one printed enumeration of the Carter family would indicate that the bride was sixteen years older than the groom,[48] a point which we shall hold to be in error until more conclusive evidence is found. Even so, it cannot be denied that it was a stroke of good fortune for an impecunious young lawyer to contract a marriage alliance with the first family of the town and county. One of the Senator's bosom friends of later years had occasion to write about the subject of Allison's home life: "Senator Allison before he came to Iowa in 1856 [*sic*] married a most reputable lady at his then home in Ohio, the daughter of a prominent citizen of that state. She died in this city a year or two after the young couple came to Iowa of pulmonary affection."[49]

An indication of Allison's intention to remain in Ashland is to be found in the acquisition of property. The books of the county recorder show the possession of a lot which could now be described as the northeast corner of the junction of Center and Liberty streets, a good location in a part of the city that to this day carries social distinction. He gained admission into the Masonic Lodge and was quickly raised to official position. In a remarkably short time he had made a secure position for himself as a citizen of his community and now he was fully ready to devote himself to a career of law and politics.

A fledgling lawyer could not have begun his career at a time when state and national politics was in a greater flux. The Compromise of 1850 had provided a very temporary pacification of the basic quarrel between the proslavery and antislavery groups. Slowly and surely the inexorable forces were grinding away — eventually men must make up their minds and take their stands. It was to be many years before Lincoln would say unequivocally that the nation could not live half-free and half-slave, but already some men were beginning to make up their minds and to announce their decisions, pro and con. Other men drifted into one camp or the other as the years went by. Some could not make up their minds finally and definitely and take the logical consequences until forced by the opening of hostilities in 1861.

In later life Allison acquired the reputation of a cautious and noncontro-

[48] George William Hill, *History of Ashland County, Ohio* (Ashland, 1880), 149 and unnumbered page opposite.

[49] Jacob Rich of Dubuque to William Ripley, March 29, 1896. The letter is in the Richard P. Clarkson Scrapbook, kindly loaned to me by R. P. Clarkson's granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Clarkson Zwart Metcalf.

versial man, but be it said to his credit that in those days of decision and action he was among the first to line up with the antislavery men who eventually made up the Republican party. Regardless of what later uses this party was put to, and regardless of his motivation then or later, the credit for helping to form an antislavery party is his and cannot be denied him. The New England antislavery influence acquired at Hudson while attending Western Reserve College undoubtedly was one source of explanation for his attitude. His was a minor part, as we shall see, and a moderate part, for there is not a single known copy of any "burning message" or "stirring appeal" made by him. But he made his way from Whigism into the new antislavery movement, became a minor official in the convention of decision in his state, and never leaves us the slightest doubt as to his basic decision to go along with the new movement, all of this in the face of the fact that the two counties he drew business from were Democratic.

As every student of American history knows, many diverse elements had to be brought together to form the political amalgamation which could within two years of its first formal meetings take its place as a major party in 1856 and win a presidential contest in 1860. In the words of Professor John R. Commons, "Its members came together by a magic attraction, as crystals appear in a chilled solution. Not one man nor one set of men formed the party. . . . The fluid solution was there, and when the chill came the crystals formed."[50]

Every state had its own story and its own leaders. In Allison's home state, the blending of the various elements is most importantly illustrated in the series of events that led to the formation of a Fusion (Republican) party at Columbus in 1855, which nominated and later elected Salmon Portland Chase as governor of the state on an antislavery platform. In fact the story of this formative stage of Ohio Republican politics almost takes the form of a biography of Chase. This is fortunate because Allison was a Chase man at the time and also at the 1860 convention in Chicago, and in studying Chase we indirectly study Allison.

[50] Commons, "Horace Greeley and the Working Class Origins of the Republican Party," 469. See also Binkley, *American Political Parties . . .*, Chs. 8-9; William Starr Myers, *The Republican Party: A History* (New York, 1928); Jeter A. Isely, *Horace Greeley and the Republican Party* (Princeton, 1947); A. W. Crandall, *The Early History of the Republican Party, 1854–1856* (Boston, 1930); Francis Curtis, *The Republican Party . . .* (2 vols., New York, 1904); G. G. Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed* (New York, 1947).

Chase well illustrates the difficulties which beset the politicians of the times. He began his career as a Whig, but in 1849 went over to the Free Soilers. As such, he was elected to the United States Senate in 1849 by an Ohio legislature that was a mixture of uncertain Democrats, Whig remnants, and Free Soilers. In 1851 Chase deserted the Free Soilers and declared himself a Democrat, but continued to classify himself along with Senator Benjamin F. Wade, a Whig, as an antislavery man. His purpose in going over to the old party was to work for its conversion into a Free Democratic party.[51] Here his efforts were a decided failure. In 1852 the proslavery Franklin Pierce was elected president, and in 1856 Chase's own state elected a state legislature with a clear Democratic majority, which would in time replace him with ex-Governor George E. Pugh, a proslavery man.[52] In spite of this he remained firm in his antislavery convictions and in 1854 became a recognized leader of the opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. His "Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States," which was signed by Senator Sumner and four Abolitionists in the House as endorsers, "set off the explosion" which produced the Republican party.[53]

> On most of the great questions which came before the Senate, Chase rarely made a formal speech. . . . The watchman on the wall was Chase; the debater who could confute Douglas was Chase; and Chase was the man whose speeches summed up the calm argument of the unflinching anti-slavery men and spread it through the country in the crises of 1850 and of 1854.[54]

All over the Midwest and in scattered places elsewhere men and women with sacred purpose and religious zeal were meeting to discuss the issue brought up by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act. The sacred purpose was the prevention of the extension of slavery into the territories; the religious zeal was furnished by those who approached the slavery problem with Christian consciences and Christian determination to stamp out eventually the whole institution of slavery. It was distinctly not an abolitionist movement in the Garrisonian sense, but there were many people in it of aboli-

[51] Roseboom and Weisenburger, *History of Ohio*, 238; Albert Bushnell Hart, *Salmon Portland Chase* (Boston, 1899), 112ff.

[52] Hart, *Salmon Portland Chase*, 132-3; Roseboom, *The Civil War Era . . .*, 279.

[53] Binkley, *American Political Parties . . .*, 207-208; Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1808–1858* (2 vols., Boston, 1928), 2:184–96.

[54] Hart, *Salmon Portland Chase*, 119-20.

tionist connections and abolitionist leanings and the "antislavery impulse" owes much to them. Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists from New England, Presbyterians of New York and Pennsylvania, and Quakers of Pennsylvania and their children of the frontier states, a myriad of people such as the Allisons, all joined in and furnished the backbone of the new and rapidly growing movement.[55] It was not at this time a movement of the people of great wealth or high social station. Small farmers like the Allisons and laboring people and small merchants in the cities were the rank and file of the party.[56]

There are disputes among many towns over the honor of being the birthplace of the Republican party. The little town of Ripon, Wisconsin, disputes with Jackson, Michigan, and other places which claim the distinction.

> Many a Republican has made his pilgrimage and stood in devout reverence on the spot pointed out to him as the birthplace of his party. Not all of them, however, have stood at the same place, and the number of these shrines is confusing until one understands that the movement began as a leaderless and spontaneous uprising, appearing simultaneously in many communities and even accompanied by considerable confusion at first. . . . Out of these spontaneous local movements was to be formed eventually the Republican Party, but that could not be foreseen, and the betting odds in 1855 were in favor of the Know Nothings as the coming major party of the opposition.[57]

There were dozens of birthplaces because everywhere throughout the Middle West and in many places in the East, in schools, churches, public buildings, and shaded groves, under a variety of titles, people were meeting

[55] See Philip Kinsley, *The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years* (New York, 1943), for a reference to this religious influence on Joseph Medill, an Ohioan before he went to Chicago to join the *Tribune*. This instance is cited as a reminder that the religious impulse was not confined to the clergy.

[56] Commons, "Horace Greeley and the Working Class Origins of the Republican Party"; Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse*, 197; Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict* (Chapel Hill, 1941), *passim*, especially Ch. 17; A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945). Lloyd Lewis, *It Takes All Kinds* (New York, 1948), 168-9, makes the point very strongly. A Chicago meeting, addressed by James H. Lane, was held on ". . . a Saturday night when the workingmen would be free, and the sailors in from the lakes and the longshoremen up from the docks, and the farmers across from the fields. For, make no mistake about it, the Republican Party was a radical, almost a New Deal party in 1856. It was the masses attacking the classes."

[57] Binkley, *American Political Parties . . .*, 207. Also see the judicious remarks by James G. Randall, *Lincoln the President . . .* (2 vols., New York, 1945), 1:82-3n.

to form an opposition to Douglas and the Democracy. Little good did it do to argue with them about Douglas' constitutional position and the pro and antislavery divisions within the Democratic party. Speakers before these meetings were not disposed to split hairs and chop logic over the issue of the extension of slavery: they were against it without compromise.

Such a meeting was held in Ashland on May 11 and three Allisons, John, J. B., and Alexander, were present and prominent enough to warrant special notice.[58] The Allisons had been staunch Whigs, but it was in meetings such as these that many a Whig now cast in his lot with the new movement. These "anti-Nebraska" meetings were taking place all over the Midwest. In Iowa they were being held under the leadership of James W. Grimes, the father of Republicanism in Iowa, and Allison's future mentor and foster father-in-law. Others active in Iowa were James Harlan, educator, politician, and Methodist leader, Allison's great rival in days yet to come; Josiah B. Grinnell, who would later be his colleague in the nomination of Lincoln in 1860 and in the House of Representatives; James F. Wilson, ex-Ohioan and colleague-to-be in both houses of the national legislature and also a business associate. Some day Allison would meet these men and others such as Samuel J. Kirkwood, William Peters Hepburn, Aylett R. Cotton, and William Loughridge, all Ohio-Iowans, and be able to compare notes on the Iowa and Ohio stories.

In Ohio the supreme leader was Salmon Portland Chase. Anti-Nebraska Democrats, ex-Whigs, Free Soilers, Know-Nothings, and Independents must all be fused into one united party. The leaders were practical politicians and knew the necessity of a vote-getting organization and all the tricks of building one. The first and most important job was to bring about a victory for the antislavery element of the Know-Nothing party over the anti-foreigner element. No less a man than Chase himself had some sort of affiliation with the Know-Nothings.[59] In view of Allison's devotion to Chase it should not be surprising if absolute proof is eventually discovered that

[58] Ashland *Times*, May 11, 1854. The "J. B. Allison" has not been identified. Perhaps "W. B." was intended. Alexander Allison was a cousin of William Boyd Allison.

[59] Robert B. Warden, *An Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (Cincinnati, 1874), 345; Hart, *Salmon Portland Chase*, 152–4; James G. Randall, "Salmon Portland Chase," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 4:29; Eugene H. Roseboom, "Salmon P. Chase and the Know Nothings," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 25:335–50 (December, 1938).

Allison at one time "carried a dark lantern," as two of his later political rivals openly charged.[60]

Months went by while personal and political forces were at work in such a way as to bring about fusion. To change the figure, the ordeal of birth was long drawn out and there were many moments of uncertainty over the outcome. On July 13, 1854, a "fusion" convention met in Columbus in the City Hall, later moving into a larger building because a thousand delegates had swarmed into the city for this meeting. William Boyd Allison was present as one of these delegates.[61] Chase was away in Washington at the time of this meeting, as were Wade, Joshua R. Giddings, and several other prominent leaders of later days. As to Allison's part, his attendance as a delegate from Ashland County is noteworthy for our story. In view of his position in the convention a year later, where he acted as secretary, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the event of 1854 as a step in his personal promotion. He could not likely have been chosen for the secretarial position unless he had had some previous experience in the movement and sufficient acquaintance with its leaders to acquire their political confidence.

Seven resolutions were adopted as a platform by the convention, the main plank being one that promised to nullify the Kansas-Nebraska act wherever it affected territory that had been made free by the Missouri Compromise. It further promised to oppose by lawful means any additional increase in either slave states or slave territory.[62] This momentous action was followed by the nomination of candidates for state offices open for election this even-numbered year. An illustration of the confusion of the times is seen in the uncertainty over a name for the new group. One paper called them the "Republicans," but names such as "People's Movement" and "anti-Nebraska Movement" also appeared. The name "Know-Nothings" was used by some because of the close affiliation. The ticket was victorious, whatever its name, but the fight was not over.

[60] Ashland *Union*, July 9, Oct. 15, 1856; Stilson Hutchins in the Dubuque *Herald*, October 1, 1862. In Iowa, William Penn Clarke and James Thorington were important members of the American (Know-Nothing) party. See Volume I of the *William Penn Clarke Correspondence* (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines).

[61] Ashland *Times*, July 13, 1856. Allison was on the committee on resolutions at the county convention which elected him a delegate to the state convention.

[62] Roseboom, *The Civil War Era* . . ., 284-5.

A great confusion arose over candidates in 1855. There were two wings in the new movement, one of conservative former Whigs and Know-Nothings, and the other of radical Democratic-Free Soilers. Allison almost certainly belonged to the former group.[63] Chase's most recent affiliation had been with the latter, but the conservatives came over to him because of a swing toward a pronounced antislavery conviction. Professor Roseboom estimates that the Know-Nothing strength in Ohio grew from 50,000 in 1854 to 130,000 by June, 1855, and that they were the majority element in the victory of the "fusion" candidacy of Judge Swan in 1854.

> This was offset in part by the fact that many Know-Nothings were more antislavery than nativistic and few, if compelled to choose, would sacrifice compromise and harmony and chances for victory to uphold the basic principles of the secret order. On the other hand, the opposing elements, if numerically inferior, possessed leaders of national prestige in Chase, Wade, and Giddings.[64]

Fortunately for Chase, the Know-Nothings now found a way to subordinate other interests and came over to him on solid antislavery grounds.

The great triumph for the antislavery, anti-Douglas forces came on July 13, 1855, the exact anniversary of the meeting referred to above, a date chosen on sentimental grounds as the anniversary of the passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Allison was there to take a part. "On Friday, the thirteenth of July, in the Town Street Methodist Church at Columbus, the Ohio Republican party shed the outworn garments of fusion."[65] John Sherman, the permanent chairman of the convention, has left us his own description of the meeting and Allison's official part in it:

> During the summer of 1855, the elements of opposition to the administration of President Pierce organized as the Republican party. County conventions were generally held and largely attended. The state convention met at Columbus on the 13th day of July, 1855. It was composed of heterogeneous elements, every shade of political opinion being represented. Such antipodes as Giddings, Leiter, Chase, Brinkerhoff, and Lew Campbell met in concert. The first question that troubled the convention was the selection of a president. It was thought impolitic to take one who had been offen-

[63] See the Ashland *Union*, Aug. 20, 1856, which credits Allison with assistance in the campaign for Winfield Scott in 1852.

[64] Roseboom, *The Civil War Era . . .*, 299.

[65] *Ibid.*, 303.

> sively conspicuous in one of the old parties. The result was that I was selected, much to my surprise, and for a time, much to my chagrin. Mr. Allison, since a distinguished Member of the United States Senate, was elected secretary of the convention.[66]

If John Sherman, the Mansfield lawyer and Congressman, had not been found "offensively conspicuous," it is pretty safe to assume the young William B. Allison, the Ashland attorney of some three years' standing, also escaped this characterization. But if not offensively conspicuous, nevertheless he was there as a founder and an officer and the credit must not be denied him. Since this was one of the major events of his early life, it would be interesting to know in detail the alignment of forces that made him secretary of the convention. In politics even a minor office such as this has some significance. To bestow it on somebody is to win that person's influence and support and maybe that of a faction to which he belongs. The secretary would be privy at least a little bit, maybe a great deal, to the machinations by which such conventions are manipulated. Indeed it was a long step forward in the game of politics as the game is actually played. No doubt it helped some to secure for him the position as assistant secretary at Chicago in 1860.

Of more importance would be the friendships and acquaintances to be followed up in years to come. It would be a thing of great value to be able to boast in future years that he had been a charter member of the Republican party, especially in a key state such as Ohio. It would mean a favored position in the small and select group that carried out and won a revolution and received as their reward the power to run the country for many years. William Boyd Allison was only a rising young country lawyer performing a hack job, but he was on his way to a position of immense power within the national government, where he could serve this group invaluably and help them to preserve the fruits of their revolution.

Having been made over from a Whig,[67] and possibly a Know-Nothing, into a Republican, and with the victory of 1855 as a springboard, Allison and many others went into the local campaigns of 1856 under the shadow

[66] John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet* (2 vols., Chicago, 1895), 1:105. Sherman's attitude of reluctance and doubt is understandable. At this time Lincoln himself would not have publicly joined in a meeting with such a party.

[67] Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, Chapter 13, has another account of "Whig into Republican."

of the current congressional and presidential elections. Without the benefit of Allison's membership, the first national convention of the new Republicans, meeting at Philadelphia, would have none of Governor Chase but seriously considered his fellow-Ohioan, Supreme Court Justice McLean.[68] In the end, both were passed up and the delegates turned to John C. Fremont, a move which reduced the intraparty tensions in Ohio and elsewhere, since all factions could now unite behind Fremont against Buchanan. The state and congressional elections would be held on October 14 and would be the proverbial straw in the wind showing the direction of the national election a few weeks later in November.

Under these circumstances, Allison sought the office most suited to his situation. He became the Republican candidate for prosecuting attorney in his county and put up a good fight against a good opponent. Not only was he up against an able opponent but also an opposition newspaper that spared him not in the least. Consider the following as a sample of the journalistic style and ethics of the times. The piece is about a Fourth of July Republican meeting held in a "grove west of town" to ratify the nominees of the Philadelphia Convention, Fremont and Dayton. After belittling the presiding officers and the minister who prayed, the writer treats Allison in this vein:

> After this impious farce had been gone through with, another scarcely less revolting followed. Wm. B. Allison, Esq., a Charter member of the first Know Nothing lodge ever organized in Ashland County, had the hardihood to read the Declaration of Independence. We suppose mother earth never flew up and struck William a harder lick in the face while in any of his mellow moods than did the following passage from this same Declaration, which was one of the gravest charges preferred against George the Third, the father of Know Nothingism in America: "He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners. . . ." A live Know Nothing, reading the Declaration of Independence to a crowd of Black Republican Sectionalists, on the 4th of July! Oh Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name.

After listing and discussing other speakers, including Professor H. E. Peck

[68] Allison's name was not in the official list of the delegates to the state convention or the national convention. See the Columbus *Ohio State Journal*, May 31, June 10, 1856.

of Oberlin College, the article continues: "In the evening a one-horse display of fireworks was got up, the whiskey was brought out, and everybody invited to drink and be merry. We can honestly state that there have never been so many drunk men in Ashland since the execution of Charles Stinegraver for murder, as on this occasion." The article is concluded by a piece of poetry which shall not be inflicted upon the reader.[69]

Some six weeks later the satirical editor indulged in another great display of spoofing the candidates and ended up with Allison:

> For Prosecuting Attorney we have Wm. B. Allison, Esq. William is rather a singular specimen of humanity — a sort of political joker — a kind of "now you see him and now you don't" sort of man. At first it was hard for him to support the nomination of Fremont. Whether this nomination [his own] will increase his ardor remains to be seen. He was a charter member of the first Know Nothing lodge in Ashland, and was a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention which nominated Fillmore.!!! He was born and raised a Whig, and stumped this county for Scott in 1852. We presume he has no hopes of being elected. The Democracy have a little "Mustang" in reserve who will surely distance him in the race.[70]

The charges that Allison was a Know-Nothing delegate to the convention that nominated Fillmore and a charter member of the Ashland lodge can probably never be proved nor disproved. The charge is not so damning as it seems at first sight. If one saturates himself in the political lore of the times, one emerges with a totally different attitude from that usually held about the Know-Nothings.[71] Their cardinal beliefs concerning Catholics and foreigners are not to be condoned at any time and are certainly contrary to our highest idealism. However much we may condemn them for their anti-Catholicism and their nativism, to remove from American history the contributions of the Know-Nothings to the formation of the Republican party would be equivalent to denying that party the necessary votes for success and importance in 1855 and 1856. At the same time it must be said that the Republican party had to overcome these illiberal negations in the

[69] Ashland *Union*, July 9, 1856.

[70] *Ibid.*, August 20, 1856.

[71] See R. A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade* (New York, 1938); Harry J. Carman and Reinhard Luthin, "Some Aspects of the Know Nothing Movement Reconsidered," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 39:213–34 (April, 1940); Binkley, *American Political Parties* . . ., 209-210; Roseboom, "Salmon P. Chase and the Know Nothings."

Know-Nothings and sublimate such debasing interests in the higher mission of the antislavery movement.

The other charge against Allison, susceptibility to "mellow moods," is hard to accept as anything more than a political mud-ball, not meant to be taken seriously by the neighbors who would read the story. There is absolutely no shred of evidence known to the author that would support a charge of inebriety at any stage of his career. The charge contradicts the basic characteristic of the man, namely, his complete self-control at all times.

As a matter of fact, Allison put up a good fight for the office. He was up against the very able Thomas J. Kenny of Ashland, popularly known as the "Little Mustang."[72] The Ashland *Times* reports that Allison made "able speeches" and that the "cause . . . is onward."[73] But the final result was a bitter disappointment. The opposition paper carried banner headlines on October 15, reporting a "glorious victory in Ashland County! . . . Thomas J. Kenny, the fearless young Democratic orator whose efforts during the campaign have been so effective, leads his Know Nothing opponent, Mr. Allison by 188 votes. Verily, William, 'Jordan am a hard road to trabble.' "

Kenny, 2,056 votes; Allison, 1,868 votes. A mere matter of 188 votes, not bad for one's first race against a strong opponent in a county habitually Democratic. Were these the votes that sent the young attorney westward in search of greener fields? Not only did his county go Democratic in 1856, but the prospect looked no better for the future. If this were his prediction, Allison proved himself a good prophet. The next year his leader, Chase, barely carried the state for governor and did not carry Ashland County. In 1859 the Republican candidate Dennison did better in the state but lost both Ashland and Wayne counties.[74] Allison's congressional district, the Fourteenth, elected Philemon Bliss as a Republican in 1856 and likewise Cyrus Spink of Wooster in 1858, and, after Spink's death, Harrison Gray Otis Blake of Medina, but the margins were small and due to the inclusion of Western Reserve precincts in the district. Even in the crucial election of 1860, Wayne County went for Douglas rather than Lincoln.[75]

[72] Ashland *Times*, August 28, 1856. A letter to the author from Judge William T. Devor of Ashland describes Kenny as a vivacious, convivial, energetic, and altogether likable Irishman who enjoyed a wide popularity and who left a legend of good fellowship behind him. He was elected a state senator from his county in 1861.

[73] Ashland *Times*, August 21, 1856.

[74] Porter, *Ohio Politics During the Civil War*, 18, 26, and map facing 26.

[75] See *The Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1927* (Wash-

All these facts seem to support the theory that Allison left Ashland in search of greener fields both politically and professionally. Truly his lines had fallen in unpleasant places. Only moderately successful at the law, with three different partners in four years; member of a struggling party whose leader, Chase, was involved in many factional disputes; who could blame him for wanting a change of location? Ben: Perley Poore explains it this way: In the campaign of 1856 Allison strongly supported Fremont. "He saw, however, that if he remained at Ashland there was not much prospect of his realizing more than a competency, and having married a daughter of Daniel Carter, in 1854, he made up his mind to go West. . . ." The Campaign Biography of 1896 explains it a little more romantically: He was not very prosperous in Ashland but in spite of this he married Anna Carter. "It was this extra responsibility which soon thereafter turned his thoughts westward. . . ."

There is not much point in making his decision a matter of complex or esoteric psychology. His story illustrates the winning of the West as well as any other in the great saga of the millions of people who migrated from the East and the South to find a new beginning in a country that was not quite all staked out and nailed down.[76] To use the same idea without regard to West, East, or South, his story illustrates the success of many people from time immemorial: people who are failures or only moderate successes in their old home towns go out into the great new world, not necessarily far from home, to find fame and fortune.

We may well believe that Allison felt himself not properly appreciated in Ashland. He must go out and win success elsewhere to prove his ability. The series of events of the next few months upholds this line of reasoning. The political defeat came in October, 1856; the campaign for Fremont was completed in November. Allison soon began to prospect for a new location.

He first spent a week examining the possibilities of Chicago, possibly late in 1856 but most likely early in 1857. Apparently not satisfied with the prospects, he followed the new Rock Island railroad out to Davenport but soon rejected it as a potential location and returned to Chicago for another investigation. Something was lacking in the charms of the lake city, which

ington, 1928) for data on these men. Roseboom and Weisenburger, *History of Ohio*, 262.

[76] For a discussion of this phase of history see the essay by Professor William O. Lynch, "The Advance into the Middle West," in Randall and Nichols (eds.), *Democracy in the Middle West, 1840–1940* (New York, 1941).

then had about fifty thousand inhabitants. Next came a visit to Galena and Dubuque. After a short stay in Dubuque, he made up his mind to settle in this booming Iowa town. He returned to Ohio, closed out his affairs, brought his wife out to live among the alien corn, and plunged at once into professional practice, business, and politics.[77]

Allison could later thank his lucky star for saving him from residence in Chicago. As its own particular brand of unsavory politics eventually developed, it would have been the worst possible place for a man of Allison's temperament. His almost meteoric rise to political success from his base in Dubuque, the city of his choice, gave him exactly the kind of satisfaction he wanted: political success plus a degree of security far greater than that vouchsafed to most men in public life, and a security which was without the strain and excitement of electioneering in the pivotal states such as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Absolutely no trace of this phase of young-man-on-the-make has been found in Allison's letters. There was never any looking back over his shoulder. A little Calvinistic predestination creeps in here. One feels that he was surprised at and contented with his new success and that he felt it was something to be accepted, not questioned. Referring many years later to the fortunate choice of Iowa, he made the typical politician's gesture. He had chosen Iowa, he said, because it was one of the empire states of the West. Then a second thought came over him: "It was largely accidental but I like to think that there is Providence even in accidents."[78]

As usual, Providence was assisted by the employment of good hard-headed business acumen. Dubuque was very well located for business. It was the best traffic point on the Mississippi between St. Louis and St. Paul. East and west rail traffic to and from Chicago crossed the river there (by ferry) and unloaded cargoes for shipment on the river north and south, in areas where as yet the rails had not been built. For a long time to come it would be a great milling center devouring the logs that were rafted down the Mississippi.[79] But it seems almost certain that the basic and all-important reason for Allison's choice of Dubuque was not to be found in his

[77] *Poore Ms.*

[78] "The Campaign Biography of 1896."

[79] William J. Petersen, *Iowa, The Rivers of Her Valleys* (Iowa City, 1941), 42-3; Marquis Childs, "River Town," *Harpers Magazine* (November, 1932), reprinted in John T. Flanagan, *America Is West* (Minneapolis, 1945).

analysis of its business prospects. Providential or otherwise, there was another reason.

In the Dubuque *Daily Express and Herald*, May 1, 1857, an advertisement appears for "M. Allison's Insurance Agency." This M. Allison of the advertisement was none other than William's older brother, Matthew, the very same who had lived in Wooster at the time of William's law study there. He was already well established in business and would be able to tide the younger brother over a few lean months and at the same time introduce him into the business and political circles of a booming little city. Brother Matthew had come to Dubuque in 1855 and by his own advertised admission had done well in these two years. In 1856 the local newspaper listed him as a "leader" in the newly formed Republican party, right along with many leading businessmen of the city.[80] A helpful brother under these circumstances was an asset beyond price. Many years later Senator Allison gratefully acknowledged his brother's hospitality and assistance upon his arrival in Dubuque.[81] Within the year the younger brother moved to a rented house and lived there until 1861 when he was able to purchase a home of his own. The City Directory of 1857-1858 lists him as a "boarder" on Julien Avenue; there is no mention of his wife. The next year's Directory again lists him as a boarder at the corner of 11th and Locust (near the site of the home he purchased at 1134 Locust Street). One possible inference from these references to him as a boarder is that Mrs. Allison was spending much of her time elsewhere, very likely in Ohio with relatives.

In his choice of Dubuque, Allison was either gambling or blessed with a long look into his political future. Perhaps he was thinking of financial opportunity rather than politics. He arrived at an opportune time for economic advancement in his profession. Even politically it was a good time for him to come to Iowa. The Republican party had just made a good start in the state. Republicans might have their troubles in Dubuque and Clinton, in Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington, and Keokuk — all known in Iowa as the "River Cities" — but in the rest of the state the new party was burgeoning. The smart strategy for a River City Republican was to avoid competition for small local offices and run for a district or state office where the Democratic strength could be overcome by the inland Republican majorities.

[80] Franklin Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, n. d.), 337–9.

[81] "The Campaign Biography of 1896."

This was exactly the game that Allison played as soon as he was solidly established in his new home.

Dubuque, as Allison found it in April of 1857 when he and his wife arrived to settle there, was in an era of great expansion. A panic was being hinted at by the farsighted but it had not come as yet. The city was beginning to draw away from its hearty rival, Galena. Sprawling along the Mississippi, the business district was forced into a longitudinal rather than lateral growth by a magnificent bluff that runs parallel to the river at a distance of some six hundred yards and hems in the district. A visitor in the nineties was to remark that "for no city had God done more and men so little," but he was speaking from an aesthetic rather than a business point of view. Dubuque's business leaders were awake to the possibilities, but time and capital were necessary before full realization of these possibilities could be attained. To capitalize on the arterial advantages of the great river, considerable dredging of sloughs was necessary, and docking and warehouse facilities must be provided. The local taxpayer did not have the vision to see that these things should come out of the municipal purse. He knew that the direct profits therefrom would be narrowly distributed among a few leading businessmen and only a little overflow would trickle down to the masses. No serious effort had been made as yet to secure federal largess for such projects. A congressman was needed who could get federal funds for river and harbor improvements. Another thing needed was a bridge across the Mississippi. In 1853 the rails from Chicago reached Dunleith, just across the river, and some day a railroad bridge must replace the ferry or sled which had brought Allison across the river on his first visit. Railroads were already being pushed westward from Dubuque and the two sets of rails must be linked by a bridge. But these things would require time.

Meanwhile the city was doing very well. Founded in the late eighteenth century in connection with the lead-mining activities of Julien Dubuque, it early attracted notice for its trade and for its river-crossing.[82] Its permanent settlement as a village and its growth date from the early 1830's. Prominent among Dubuque's early settlers were many people of Southern background. A greater source or origin, however, seems to have been Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and the New England states. This is true of Iowa as a whole, and Dubuque would reflect this fact. A study by Professor

[82] M. M. Hoffmann, *Antique Dubuque, 1673–1833* (Dubuque, 1930), *passim.*

F. I. Herriott shows that Allison's state, Ohio, had a slight edge on the others.[83]

Most pronounced of all in positive and enduring but rather localized influences on Dubuque were the settlers who came from Germany and Ireland. The Germans came in great numbers after the revolutionary days of 1848-1849. They settled all over the Northwest — just why so many happened to settle in Dubuque and its hinterland would make an interesting study.[84] Their numerical and group importance in the affairs of Dubuque is indicated by the fact that in the hectic days of rallying support for the Union in April, 1861, all mass meetings had to be addressed twice — once in English and once in German. The Irish were perhaps not so distinctive, but they were just as positive as an element in the heterogeneous population of the city. In religion as well as in politics they made a powerful impression on the life of the city and helped some of the Germans to swell the membership of the Catholic Church. These Irish and German people were the source of rank and file votes for the Democrats to the extent that Dubuque earned the title of the "Gibraltar of Iowa Democracy."

Allison's arrival in April, 1857, luckily came at a time when the city seemed to be at the top of its progress. Its boosters were almost ecstatic over the prospects for growth. In April, 1855, one newspaper said: "It Opens Well. — The spring business never before opened with such flattering prospects as it does this season. Dubuque is unmistakably going ahead. It is as much as we can do to keep posted on the progress of the place." But this is mild compared to an outburst of February, 1857, just about the time our prospecting lawyer inspected the city.

> Twelve years ago (1844) Dubuque was what we may call a small village, remarkable for nothing more than its being in the lead mining region. It had then, if our recollection be correct, about 700 inhabitants all told. There was not a single street . . . graded. There were but two brick houses, most of the rest of the buildings being frame shanties. A few stores were sufficient to

[83] F. I. Herriott, "Whence Came the Pioneers of Iowa?" *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 7:464 (July, 1906). See also, William J. Petersen, "Population Advance to the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1830–1860," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 32:335-6 (October, 1934), for a tabular study of the nativity of the Iowa population in 1860, which shows Ohio far ahead of any other state.

[84] W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque to Kirkwood *re* the need to solicit German vote: "Germans are as thick as bees up here. . . ." *Kirkwood Correspondence* (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines).

> supply Dubuque and all the country for six miles around. . . . Main street lots that would now sell for $400 a front foot could be purchased then for $100 to $200 for 64-foot lot. Lands in the vicinity of the city that now sell for $1,000 an acre, could then be taken up as claims and bought from the government at $1.25 an acre. . . . Look at Dubuque now and judge whether she does not give warrant for future greatness which . . . she will ere long attain.[85]

A little later, May 19, the same paper issued an editorial warning that rents were too high in Dubuque and must come down or businessmen would leave the city. Two days later confidence again reigned in the editor's mind. Taking note of a piece in the Albany, New York, *Journal* which said that a panic was impending and that the West would suffer more than the East, the editor reassured his readers: "Now there never was less prospect of a 'crash' in the west than at the present time. . . . Such a thing as a general crash at the West is simply ridiculous." Within three months the crash had come. Not everyone had the prescience of Horace Greeley, who was observing conditions in Iowa in February, 1857. Greeley "feared that speculation was rife and that disaster was inevitable. In Iowa City he observed that 'almost everyone here who isn't drunk is getting rich, or thinks he is.' "[86]

These words are cited not to deride the prophetic powers of the optimistic editor but to indicate that by all known standards Allison was making a good choice when he decided to settle in Dubuque. Business was probably more important to him at the moment than politics. The size of the city was indicated by the official voting figures for the preceding year which showed the city of Dubuque to have the largest urban vote in all of Iowa. Among the counties, Dubuque County had 4,005 votes, a close second to Lee County (containing Keokuk) with 4,588.[87] The City Directory of 1858 credits the city with a population count of 15,957 people. This size indicated a field for both business and politics. Allison could not be expected to foresee the panic that would break in August and temporarily set the city back. Even so, what other city would not suffer in the same way? With a

[85] Oldt, *History of Dubuque County . . .*, 107, quoting the Dubuque *Express and Herald*, April 12, 1855; *ibid.*, 117, quoting same paper for Feb. 4, 1857.

[86] Jeter A. Isely, *Horace Greeley and the Republican Party*, 216, referring to and quoting from the New York *Daily Tribune*, Feb. 20, 1857.

[87] Oldt, *History of Dubuque County . . .*, 340.

well-established older brother to introduce him and help him along with bed and board, what could look more promising?

As April was the date of his arrival, the new citizen must be congratulated on his speed in entering a business partnership. The matter had probably been arranged during his visit of inspection. On May 1, 1857, in the same columns in which Brother Matthew appeared as an advertiser, a new card appeared in the Dubuque *Daily Express and Herald* at the top of the column devoted to the advertisements of the legal firms of the city:

Ben M. Samuels D. N. Cooley Wm. B. Lnderson [*sic*]
SAMUELS, COOLEY AND ALLISON
Attorneys at Law
and
Solicitors in Chancery

Will give their undivided attention
to the practice of their profession
in Dubuque and adjoining counties.
Office Nos. 1 and 2, Rebman's Block,
corner of 8th and Main Streets.

It was unfortunate that Allison's name should be misspelled the very first time it appeared professionally in the paper. The next day the advertisement appeared with the correct spelling, however, and ran steadily for several months. Since the personnel of the partnership shows us men of a rather queer juxtaposition of views, illustrating the political difficulties of the times, it is of importance to become well acquainted with each of his partners.

Benjamin M. Samuels was Dubuque's leading Democrat of the late fifties, and Iowa's also, as proved by his frequent nomination for United States Senator, Representative, and for governor. He is a shining example of the Southern influence projected into Dubuque and Iowa. He was a native of Parkersburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), where he was born on December 20, 1823. His father and teacher was one of the most eminent lawyers in Virginia of his day. Benjamin came to Dubuque in 1848 for the practice of law. He was elected city attorney in 1849, and a member of the County Central Committee of his party in 1850. In 1854 he successfully ran for the lower house of the General Assembly. By this time Samuels had gained local fame as an orator and when the great Whig-Republican candidate for governor, James W. Grimes, spoke in Dubuque, it was Alli-

son's future partner who was put up to answer him. The Samuels ticket carried Dubuque County by about 450 votes on a platform endorsing the Kansas-Nebraska act, while the state as a whole went to Grimes and the Whig-Republicans. In the state legislature he first attracted attention by his opposition to a prohibition bill, opposing it on constitutional grounds. The bill passed in spite of his efforts, and for his pains Samuels received a ministerial denunciation as the "gutter champion" of Dubuque. In later years he became almost a perennial candidate for the Democrats whenever a high office was to be filled.[88]

The other partner, Dennis N. Cooley, represents the other extreme as to background and beliefs. Born in Lisbon, New Hampshire, in 1825, educated there and in Vermont, he came to Iowa after finishing his law studies, in 1854. In 1855 he and Samuels formed a partnership. Cooley achieved great success as a lawyer, a businessman, and a public servant. He was the sort of man who makes money in his law practice, becomes president of the First National Bank, president of the Board of Trustees of a college (Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa), a prominent churchman (Methodist), and whose wife is the social and cultural leader of the city.[89] One need hardly add that he was a Republican.

It was the firm of Samuels and Cooley, then, that was now enlarged by the admission of the lawyer from Ohio. This partnership, being just two years old, was hardly deserving of the description later given by Benjamin Perley Poore, "an old, established law firm," unless this be an indication of the raw youthfulness and fluidity of a boom town on the Mississippi. The pair seems strangely matched. Messrs. Samuels and Cooley had formed their partnership in ignorance of or indifference to the likely divergence of their political views. (One hesitates to suspect that they hoped to capitalize on this divergence, each one to bring in clients from his own faction.) Now Allison, a Republican, joins Cooley to make it two against one in the firm; what will be the effect?

The answer was not long in coming. The newly made threesome lasted less than four months. This must have grieved Allison's brother and alarmed his wife. Was this the herald of a repetition of his professional experience at Ashland? Would there be three partnerships made and broken in the next four years in Dubuque? Who or what was the disrup-

[88] *Ibid.*, 635, and *passim.*

[89] *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1880), 778-9.

tive force in all these business upsets? In this particular case, in the absence of a direct statement from the interested parties, we are forced to fall back on internal evidence.

Cooley had openly espoused the Republican cause in 1856. In January of that year, a Republican party had been formed in Dubuque, actually antedating the state organization. Their manifesto, signed by some 250 persons, called for a meeting of all people, who "repudiating all other party attachment, names and privileges and standing upon the broad platform of resistance to slavery aggression, are willing to unite themselves together in defense of the liberties of the country and to co-operate as a Republican party."[90] It was this party that Cooley joined sometime later in the year.

Samuels, on the other hand, was a Douglas Democrat and a staunch one. He was nominated for governor of Iowa by the Democrats in August, 1857. Partnership between a Douglas Democrat and a Grimes Republican would certainly be difficult for a Republican who subscribed with burning zeal to the party tenets of opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska program of the Douglas followers. And there is no doubt about Cooley's zeal. A leading Republican editor later testified to his oratorical ability as matching the "brilliant and fascinating Samuels."[91]

Thus we see that at the time of Allison's admission to the firm of Samuels and Cooley, both men had publicly taken different political stands and they were actually opponents pitted against each other in the mounting political combat. For once Allison did not play the role of peacemaker. Cooley broke with Samuels; the one remaining question is about Allison. Did he stay with Samuels or go with Cooley? Did he stay with the Democrat who was working for the possibility of the extension of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska by means of popular sovereignty, or did he go with the Republican, "standing upon the broad platform of resistance to slavery aggression"? Did he remember those brave words of the Ohio Republican platform of 1855: "We will resent the spread of slavery under whatever shape or color it may be attempted. To this end, we will oppose the Kansas-Nebraska Bill . . . and every effort to extend slavery into the territories"?

The answer is that he stayed with the Democrat. Why? The economic determinist would say it was through the hopes of making more money by staying with the older, more experienced man. A very friendly analyst

[90] Oldt, *History of Dubuque County . . .*, 337-8.
[91] Azro B. F. Hildreth in Charles City *Intelligencer*, May 27, 1869.

might say that Allison was anticipating the Republican platform of 1860 which virtually accepted the Douglas position on Kansas and Nebraska.[92] The real truth seems to be that this split of 1857 was the first step in a political and personal clash between Cooley and Allison, a clash that continued to the end of their days.[93]

Allison was left to get along as best he could in partnership with Samuels. The one would help to nominate Lincoln in 1860; the other would help to nominate Douglas.[94] It would be a tremendous addition to this study to be able to write authoritatively about their professional and personal relations. The evidence is not available for a single line of documentation. Samuels was an extremely active politician in local, state, and national circles of his party. Allison was for the moment more interested in business than politics. The only reasonable deduction is that in his quiet, tolerant manner, Allison stuck to his legal knitting and to his task of building up an Iowa Republican following, all the while his brilliant partner was running off to conventions and campaigns.

In several sketches for which Allison furnished the material, it is said, apparently with pride, that he did not neglect his profession for politics in these early years at Dubuque. True enough, no doubt, in the literal sense but not otherwise. A new firm, "Samuels, Allison and Crane," was formed in 1859 and it would seem that Crane was left to do most of the legal work. It was Allison's fate to have come to Iowa in the year 1857. The years between the Dred Scott decision in March, 1857, and Lincoln's first inauguration were highly momentous. A man of Allison's background and temperament could not be expected to neglect politics for business in times such as these. He rose rapidly in the Republican party. In 1860 he attended the Republican National Convention at Chicago as a delegate from Iowa, and in 1862 he was elected to Congress, thus beginning his long career in the national capital — a career which closed only with his death in 1908.

[92] Randall, *Lincoln the President . . .*, 1:229–31.

[93] Evidence of this clash can be found in Allison to Kirkwood, April 7, 1861, No. 356, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

[94] George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston, 1934), 437-8, 444, 447; M. Halstead, *The Caucuses of 1860 . . .* (Columbus, 1860), 16, 55-6; for references to Ben M. Samuels' part in 1860. Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), does not mention Samuels.



A William Brady photograph, taken about 1869.

WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON



From Andreas *Atlas*, 1875

CYRUS CLAY CARPENTER

ELECTING AN IOWA GOVERNOR, 1871: CYRUS CLAY CARPENTER

By Mildred Throne

Cyrus Clay Carpenter was elected governor of Iowa in 1871. His nomination by the Republican party, his campaign, and his election were not unusual; rather, they represent typical nineteenth century political behavior. However, this particular election can be studied in some detail because the party standard-bearer preserved his voluminous correspondence. From these letters the technique of politics in the 1870's is revealed more intimately than in newspaper records.

Politically, the decades following the Civil War in Iowa were Republican. Not until 1889 did the state elect a Democratic governor, Horace Boies,[1] and by that time the fires of the "rebellion" had been allowed to cool. In 1871, however, the war was still close. Even had the people been willing to forget the conflict, the frequent and often stormy political contests of these years kept them constantly reminded that "Democrat" was synonymous with "traitor," "rebel," and "Copperhead." In Iowa, and in the nation, a political candidate without some sort of military title would have stood small chance of election. With a General in the White House, and various Colonels, Majors, and Captains in governors' mansions throughout the North, the Civil War was still very much a reality in 1871.

The sixties and seventies have been called an age of moral collapse, both in government and business. "Grantism" was prevalent everywhere. The giving and taking of bribes between businessmen and legislators was all too common. New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois — among others — had their share of tainted political figures.[2] Iowa, in 1871, seemed to have escaped the almost universal virus, although by the following year she, too, would have her share of scandal in high places. The Rankin defalcation, locally, and the Credit Mobilier investigation, nationally, would shortly bring prominent Iowans into disrepute.

[1] Jean B. Kern, "The Political Career of Horace Boies," Iowa Journal of History, 47:215–46 (July, 1949).

[2] Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865–1878* (New York, 1927), 179–82.

The governor Iowa elected in 1871 fulfilled one of the requirements for office — he had a creditable military record and the title of "Colonel." On the other hand, Cyrus Clay Carpenter, known in his youth at Fort Dodge as "Honest Cy," was both "uncorrupted and incorruptible."[3] Throughout his years of local, state, and national service, no breath of scandal ever touched Colonel Carpenter. This, in an era when political reputations could be torn to shreds by enemies both within and without a man's party, on the slimmest of evidence, would indicate an unusual career. Undoubtedly these two qualifications, plus a record of loyalty to the radical Republican cause, led to his selection by the leaders of the party — led by the "Des Moines Regency" — as the acceptable candidate in 1871.

Iowa Republicans, dominant since 1856, were, by 1871, beginning to show the usual strains and stresses of long-held power. "Rings," as they were called, were developing, foreshadowing the split which would result in the Liberal Republican disaffection in 1872. A successful politician had either to ally himself with one faction or the other; a third and more difficult course was to secure the support of both sides, without antagonizing either. This latter course Colonel Carpenter followed with outstanding success. While his opponents in the race for the gubernatorial nomination were bitterly attacked or stoutly defended by opposing elements, no Republican newspaper, in an age of often scurrilous journalism, could find anything to object to in Carpenter's career. Even the Democratic press had little to say against him; the caustic pen of John P. Irish, editor of the Iowa City *Press* and a prominent Democratic leader, could only attempt to belittle him with the description, "one of the best desk clerks that ever served the State."[4]

Yearly elections in Iowa kept the political pot constantly boiling. One politician complained that "We work through one campaign, take a bath and start in on the next."[5] In the even-numbered years various state officials were elected; in the odd-numbered years the governor, lieutenant governor, superintendent of public instruction, and a supreme court judge

[3] This phrase is from a letter to the author from Judge Clay Carpenter of Long Beach, California, nephew of Governor Carpenter, July 26, 1950. This opinion is borne out by many contemporary letters and records. See, also, Jonathan P. Dolliver, "Ex-Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter," *Midland Monthly*, 10:77 (July, 1898), and W. Oakley Ruggles, "Early Recollections of Fort Dodge," in Fort Dodge *Iowa North West*, June 22, 1871.

[4] Iowa City *Iowa State Press*, March 1, 1871.

[5] George M. Titus, "The Battle for Biennial Elections," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 29:165 (January, 1948).

ran for office, in addition to members of the General Assembly. Once every four years the added attraction of a presidential campaign brought politics to a fever pitch. And periodically the campaigns of members of the General Assembly were colored by the fact that they would elect a new, or re-elect an old, United States Senator. The 1871 election was doubly exciting in Iowa; not only would a new governor be elected, but the next General Assembly would choose between William B. Allison, James Harlan, and James F. Wilson in one of the state's hottest senatorial contests.

Hardly had the votes in the election of 1870 been counted when the campaign for governor began. Governor Samuel Merrill had been re-elected in 1869; a two-term tradition required that he withdraw at the end of his second term. Thus, the field was open to other candidates. Since nomination by the Republicans in Iowa was tantamount to election, the real contest was not before the voters, but within the party cliques and rings. The successful candidate would be the man who could, in the months before the nominating convention in June, secure the greatest support from politicians, influential editors, and politically active businessmen. Only a few counties had yet adopted a primary system of electing members to the State Republican Convention; a majority of the members would be appointed by county caucuses. The man, or men, who controlled the caucus, controlled the vote of the county. These were the men the various candidates sought out.

Although practically every prominent Republican in Iowa was suggested for the office of governor at one time or another, by late 1870 a few names were beginning to be seen and heard most frequently. Probably the first in the field, publicly, was Henry O'Connor of Muscatine. The "gallant Major" had an excellent background for the office. Of Irish birth, he had studied law in Cincinnati, and emigrated to Iowa in 1849. A free-soiler by conviction, O'Connor was a delegate in 1856 to the convention which organized the Republican party in Iowa. His ability as an orator had won him fame and popularity, while his services in the Union Army had won him a commission and a host of army friends. In 1867 he had been elected attorney general of Iowa and was still holding that office in 1871.[6]

Most active in support of O'Connor was the Muscatine *Journal*, which came out strongly for his candidacy in December, 1870. As the campaign progressed the newspapers of Davenport, Pella, Maquoketa, Malcom, Vin-

[6] Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:203-204.

ton, Malvern, and Wapello also gave him support.[7] Other candidates rose to prominence and declined, but O'Connor remained Carpenter's strongest opponent throughout the campaign.

John A. Elliott, state auditor from 1865 to 1871, was another serious contender. As early as January of 1871 he was "already busy at work."[8] A native of Pennsylvania, Elliott had come to Iowa in 1857 and located on a farm in Mitchell County. He was the only candidate without a Civil War record. Elected state auditor in 1864, he had served three terms in a manner apparently acceptable to the people and to the politicians.[9] However, his candidacy for governor brought down upon him a storm of abuse and accusation from various Republican papers; a storm which eventually brought about his withdrawal from the campaign.

Colonel John Scott of Story County, who had served as lieutenant governor during Merrill's first term, was the third rival of Colonel Carpenter. He entered the contest late — in March, 1871 — and did not succeed in cutting down the support of either O'Connor or Carpenter. John Scott was born in Ohio, had served both in the Mexican and Civil wars, and had been a member of the Iowa Senate in addition to his term as lieutenant governor.[10] The fact that he announced his candidacy late, and that he was from the same congressional district as Carpenter, worked against him rather than against Carpenter as he had apparently planned.

By far the most popular candidate, from the very beginning of the contest, was Colonel Cyrus Clay Carpenter of Fort Dodge. At the time the canvass for governor opened Carpenter was in Washington seeking relief for the settlers on disputed lands of the Des Moines Valley Railroad, a mission in which he was unsuccessful. The fact, however, that he was interested and active in this controversy enhanced his popularity in his own locality.

Carpenter's heritage was typically American. His ancestors had emigrated from England to Massachusetts in 1638. He himself had been born in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, in 1829, the son of Asahel and Amanda M. Carpenter. Orphaned at the age of 12, he had been cared for by relatives,

[7] Muscatine *Weekly Journal*, Dec. 9, 1870; Feb. 24, April 14, 28, May 5, 12, 26, 1871.

[8] G. L. Godfrey to Cyrus C. Carpenter, Jan. 16, 1871, *Carpenter Papers* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City).

[9] Gue, *History of Iowa . . .*, 4:86; Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Jan. 11, 1871.

[10] Gue, *History of Iowa . . .*, 4:235-6; A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments . . .* (Des Moines, 1865), 476–86.

had received the usual meager frontier education, had eked out a few terms of study at Franklin Academy in Harford, Pennsylvania, and had taught school in Pennsylvania and Ohio, before succumbing to the "Western fever." In 1854 he arrived in Iowa with the traditional few coins in his pocket, variously reported as from fifty to seventy-five cents. Locating at Fort Dodge, Carpenter had at once joined a surveying party, although his previous knowledge of that art was entirely theoretical. Within a few years he was elected surveyor for Webster County, and in 1857 represented a district of nineteen counties at the first General Assembly held under the new Iowa constitution of 1857. He enlisted as a private at the outbreak of the Civil War, but almost at once received a commission as captain through the instigation of James W. Grimes. He served as captain and lieutenant-colonel of commissary under Generals Rosecrans, Thomas, Dodge, and Logan, and was breveted colonel at the close of the war.[11]

After the war Carpenter returned to Fort Dodge. The following year he was elected Register of the State Land Office, a position which he held until 1870, when he declined renomination, no doubt with his plans for the governorship in mind. He had long been active in Republican politics, and his acquaintance in the party ranks was widespread. The Republican party, young and vigorous, enlisted the aid of as many speakers as possible in the annual campaigns; Carpenter was an active and popular participant in these canvasses. Thus, while he had been a resident of Iowa for only fourteen years, some three of which had been spent in the Union Army, he was, in 1871, well known throughout the state. The announcement of his candidacy, at first hinted and then confirmed, was favorably received by many influential newspapers, especially those of the Sixth Congressional District.

The "Big Sixth," comprising about one-third of the state, included the thirty-six counties in the northwestern part of Iowa. No Iowa governor before 1871 had been chosen from this area, which prided itself on its large Republican vote at the polls. Now, in 1871, the Republicans of the Sixth District were determined that the next governor should be from the north-

[11] Biographical sketches of Carpenter appear in *Biographical Record and Portrait Album of Webster and Hamilton Counties, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1888), 205–208; *The Biographical Record of Webster County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1902), 230–37; Des Moines *Register*, Sept. 27, 1871; *The United States Biographical Dictionary* . . . *Iowa Volume* (Chicago, 1878), 781–3; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 3:508-509. Date of Carpenter family migration to America furnished by Judge Clay Carpenter in letter to author, July 26, 1950.

west. The Cedar Falls *Gazette* announced in December of 1870 that "we propose to have our say in naming the next Governor." The Marshalltown *Times* threatened "a fuss in the family" if a candidate from the Sixth District was not nominated. The Jefferson *Era* from Greene County was even more forthright: "The big Sixth speaks to be heard, not only for the present, but that the echo of her thunder tones shall reverberate down the corridor of time, warning the future Conventions that she demands a representative in the gubernatorial chair. . . ."[12] O'Connor was a resident of Muscatine County, which had already had a governor (Ralph P. Lowe); Elliott was from Mitchell County in the Third District which included the homes of the present governor, Merrill, and an early Democratic governor, Stephen P. Hempstead. Until John Scott of Story County in the Sixth District came forward, Carpenter of Fort Dodge was unopposed as to locality.

Webster County and Fort Dodge exercised a strong influence over the Republicans of the Sixth. A later writer claimed that "the citizens of Webster county have had 'a genius for politics,'" pointing out that a governor, three Congressmen, and two United States Senators, Jonathan P. Dolliver and William S. Kenyon, testified to this "genius." The political leaders of Fort Dodge were John F. Duncombe for the Democrats — appraised either as the "uncrowned head of democracy in Iowa" or "Buncomb Duncombe" according to the political point of view of the critic — and Cyrus C. Carpenter for the Republicans. It would seem that these two should have been natural enemies, yet (such are the vagaries of politics) Duncombe wrote to Carpenter in February of 1871, upon learning of the latter's gubernatorial hopes:

> Happy to aid you all in my power. Wrote letters to Davis Cleghorn Smith & Ford of Sioux City for you — also to Platt Smith to write Allison. Hope your prospects are good Write all your friends, pitch in your best, rush the work & I believe you can make it. Dont be to[o] modest about asking your friends to aid you — *persistency* is the *true theory* in politics. Let me know when I can help you & I will do it freely & with all my heart & sincerely hope that you may succeed.[13]

[12] Quoted in Fort Dodge *Iowa North West*, Dec. 8, 1870.

[13] H. M. Pratt, *History of Fort Dodge and Webster County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1913), 1:83; Muscatine *Weekly Journal*, Oct. 6, 1871; J. F. Duncombe to Carpenter, Feb. 14, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. Since it would have been impossible for a Democrat to win the Iowa election in 1871, Duncombe, realizing this privately if not pub-

Carpenter's Republican friends were also urging him to come out boldly as early as January of 1871. Colonel George L. Godfrey, a Des Moines attorney active in political affairs, wrote him that if he really intended to be a candidate he should "have it understood *at once*," since O'Connor and Elliott were already in the field. "Now Carpenter," he concluded, "don't be to[o] *modist* [*sic*] in this matter, but come out, and let *every body* know that your friends intend to make a Governor out of the X Register."[14]

These "friends" were many. Most active was Charles Aldrich of Marshalltown, politician and newspaperman, whose enthusiasm kept Carpenter constantly encouraged. Aldrich had come to Iowa in 1857 from New York State where he had been born in 1828. A printer by trade, he edited a number of Iowa newspapers during his lifetime, but his real love was politics and history. He served several terms as chief clerk of the Iowa House of Representatives, was a member of the Nineteenth General Assembly from Hamilton County, and was founder and first curator of the Historical Department at Des Moines and for many years editor of the *Annals of Iowa*. During the Civil War, Aldrich was adjutant of the 32nd Iowa Infantry.[15] These varied experiences, plus a never-ending enthusiasm and a firm friendship for Carpenter, made him the "spark plug" of the Carpenter campaign. Even closer to Carpenter were his brother, R. Emmett Carpenter, and his brother-in-law, Arthur Burkholder, both of Fort Dodge. From their letters much of the inner workings of the campaign and of Iowa Republican politics is revealed.

Spurred on by these three, Carpenter at last agreed to come out publicly in his own behalf. Once the decision was made, he set to work. He wrote his wife on February 3: "I intend to fight the thing through just as manfully as I know how, and if I win I shall be glad, if I fail, I shall live just as long and die just as happy."[16]

Campaigning for the governorship in the seventies entailed an enormous

licly, was probably glad to see a friend of long-standing such as Carpenter win the governorship. Platt Smith, of Dubuque, William B. Allison, and John F. Duncombe were all interested in the Dubuque & Sioux City R. R. which eventually became a part of the Illinois Central system. *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1880), 626–32.

[14] G. L. Godfrey to Carpenter, Jan. 16, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. For Godfrey, see L. F. Andrews, *Pioneers of Polk County, Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Des Moines, 1908), 2:327–33.

[15] Gue, *History of Iowa* . . ., 4:3-4.

[16] Carpenter to Mrs. Carpenter, Feb. 3, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

amount of letter writing. In January and February Carpenter began to send a stream of letters throughout the state. The answers to these letters give a cross section of the political life of the era as well as a good illustration of the political methods in common use at the time. The following letter to John McKean of Anamosa is a sample of Carpenter's campaigning:

> My name, for some weeks, has been quite freely associated with the approaching Gubernatorial nomination. And while I did not originate my own candidacy, and in fact, at the first suggestion of my name in connection with it, shrank from its mention as a candidate, yet now that I have come to be regarded as in the field, I would like to succeed. You will therefore excuse me for writing in my own behalf. If you think my nomination would not be incompatible with the public interest, and if I am personally acceptable to you, it would highly gratify me to have your support. But allow me to say, that as much as I would prize that support, if from any cause you are not at liberty to aid me, I shall remain, as ever, your friend: C. C. Carpenter.[17]

Although McKean's answer to this letter was noncommittal, other replies reveal enthusiastic support for Carpenter. There were politically strong men behind his campaign. Although the influential Des Moines *Register*, most powerful paper in the state, refused to come out flatly for any one of the candidates, it is evident that the editor, James S. Clarkson, leader of the "Des Moines Regency" and chairman of the State Republican Committee, was secretly supporting Carpenter. Few Clarkson letters are found in the Carpenter Papers, but one communication, signed "Mum," is very clearly written in the famous scrawl of "Ret" Clarkson. In this letter, "Mum" warned Carpenter against "some unseen causes . . . operating in the Scott interest," and concluded, "I do not want to be known in this matter, but what stones I can throw in your yard, *will be there*."[18]

George C. Tichenor, postmaster of Des Moines and successor to Clarkson as chairman of the State Republican Committee in 1871, supported Carpenter publicly after the withdrawal of his friend, John A. Elliott. "I am now *openly* and earnestly at work for *you*," he wrote in April. "I have to day written 13 letters in your behalf and can assure you I have my coat off and

[17] Carpenter to John McKean, March 27, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[18] "Mum" to Carpenter, April 22, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. For Clarkson, see George Mills, "The Des Moines Register," *The Palimpsest*, 30:283–9 (September, 1949). For the "Regency" see Emory H. English, "Evolution of Iowa Voting Practices," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 29:249–51 (April, 1948).

henceforth till the Convention, shall be 'on the war path' and you are aware I am usually energetic if not efficient. Command me at all times."[19]

What Carpenter may or may not have known, and what many Republicans did not know, was that Tichenor, Grenville M. Dodge, and William B. Allison had "agreed" upon Carpenter as the candidate early in January. These men were master politicians and knew how to pull the proper strings to accomplish their aims. Tichenor, on January 7, wrote Dodge that "*We must* fix upon our men for Gov & Lieut Gov *at once*," and suggested that either Dodge himself or Judge Caleb Baldwin of Council Bluffs should run. Dodge sent the letter on to Allison, noting on the back, "Cale dont want to run. *I cant*. Suppose we put forth C. C. Carpenter of 6th Dist. We have no time to lose." Allison, in his reply, agreed with Dodge in his choice. Tichenor was at first not too enthusiastic for Carpenter, still preferring Baldwin or Dodge. "Carpenter is a clever man," he wrote, "but not a strong man; and I find that Gue, Orr and his other associates are opposed to Allison [for the senatorship], some of them bitterly, and I should want a positive pledge from Carpenter on that question before supporting him." The "pledge" was forthcoming; Carpenter himself wrote Dodge on January 31, asking his support, stating that he could not afford to mix in the senatorial race, but assuring Dodge of his preference for Allison. Carpenter and Tichenor had both served under Dodge during the Civil War, both knew the strength of Dodge's political influence, and both realized that his endorsement was the strongest backing a candidate could receive. Dodge "is a *power* when he goes in to *win*," wrote C. V. Gardner of Avoca in March.[20] Thus, long before the lesser Republicans of the state realized it, the decision had been made. After that, it was Carpenter's job, aided publicly or privately by the leaders of the Dodge-Allison-Tichenor-Clarkson wing of the party, to round up the requisite number of votes to assure the nomination.

Other politicians were soon on the Carpenter bandwagon. Iowa's Adju-

[19] Geo. C. Tichenor to Carpenter, April 5, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. For biographical sketch of Tichenor, see Andrews, *Pioneers of Polk County . . .*, 2:363–6.

[20] Geo. C. Tichenor to Grenville M. Dodge, Jan. 7, 25, 1871; William B. Allison to Dodge, Jan. 14, 1871; Carpenter to Dodge, Jan. 31, 1871, Box 18, *Dodge Papers* (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines). (The author wishes to acknowledge the help of Dr. Leland L. Sage in securing these notes from the *Dodge Papers*.) C. V. Gardner to Carpenter, March 10, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. For Judge Baldwin, see *Biographical History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa . . .* (n. p., 1891), 231–4; George G. Wright, "Chief Justice Caleb Baldwin," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 1:209–214 (October, 1893).

tant-General Nathaniel B. Baker, Isaac Brandt, and the banker and state senator, B. F. Allen, who had himself been suggested for the governorship, favored Carpenter. Brandt had written in February that he had "a nice little under current at work, that I think is doing good work," and added, "but remember we must *push things*." The popular General Baker, who could have had any Iowa office he desired "if he would only become a teetotler," was tireless in his work for and advice to Carpenter. State Auditor Russell bolstered Carpenter's morale, when his competitors pressed too closely, by assuring him that Elliott was "blinded and brassey — and cant be Gov."[21]

Added to this strong support, Carpenter was popular with the younger men who would within a few years themselves wield power. Joseph Dysart, lieutenant governor during Carpenter's second term, promised to work for the nomination. William P. Hepburn regretted that he had given a half-promise to O'Connor, which he felt obliged to honor — a promise he would not have given had he known Carpenter was to be a candidate. Lafe Young, who would in the future serve in the United States Senate, was strong in his support. Young, editor of the Atlantic *Telegraph*, wrote that he was willing to "wager the *Telegraph* for one year that you get the nomination." William Larrabee, a future governor, promised help, "With the understanding that your nomination will not prejudice senatorial interests in the northern part of the state."[22]

In Carpenter's home county of Webster he, of course, received strong backing, although the endorsement of Benjamin F. Gue, editor of the Fort Dodge *Iowa North West* and ex-lieutenant governor (1866–1868), was rather too long in appearing to suit Carpenter's friends. Burkholder wrote in January: "I was surprised that Gue didn't come out for you this week. Privately, I believe he's holding back, hoping to fix it so that, if he can't run in himself, he will defeat you, thus giving him a show for something else. He can do you a great deal of good, at large, by heartily supporting you,

[21] Isaac Brandt to Carpenter, Feb. 15, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. For biographical sketches of these men, see Andrews, *Pioneers of Polk County . . .*, 2:35–42 (Brandt); 1:55–65 (Allen); Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments . . .*, 16–21 (Baker). N. B. Baker to Carpenter, April 16, June 12, 13, 1871; John Russell to Carpenter, March 28, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. "Gen. Baker announced this morning that he was a Carpenter man. I believe you said once that he would be for 'the coming man,' so you must be 'that fellow.'" Arthur Burkholder to Carpenter, Jan. 27, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[22] See letters to Carpenter from Joseph Dysart (March 2, 1871), W. P. Hepburn (April 8, 1871), Lafe Young (March 18, 1871), and William Larrabee (March 17, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*.

for a great many people, away from home, think he's 'a persimmon.' " This opinion was not shared by Burkholder, however, who thought Gue might be going to act "the swine" with Carpenter, as he had done to other Fort Dodge political aspirants, and he advised his brother-in-law to write Gue, tell him frankly that he was a candidate, and ask for his support, thus forcing Gue's hand.[23] Great relief was felt by the Carpenter backers on January 26 when Gue, after quoting generously from other newspapers supporting his fellow townsman, concluded cautiously that "From a careful examination of our exchanges we are confident that Col. Carpenter would be acceptable to the great mass of the Republican party." Gue's journalistic rival, the Fort Dodge *Messenger*, also supported Carpenter, and according to Mrs. Carpenter, "that makes each one of them mad."[24]

A politician of the seventies had to be very careful in threading his way between the political and newspaper feuds within the Republican party, in addition to countering attacks from the Democrats. Cyrus Carpenter, honest and kindly, would have seemed to be the last man to do this successfully. But Dolliver wrote of him, years later: "He was a politician, and in many respects the wisest and most successful that has ever lived in Iowa. . . . He knew how to approach those whom he wished to influence and guide, and while he could neither use base and questionable weapons for himself nor protect himself against them in the hands of others, he was throughout his public career the ideal type of the upright American politician."[25]

Support from the Des Moines "ring," from General Dodge, and from his friends and neighbors in Fort Dodge was not enough to elect Carpenter, however, unless the majority of the county leaders would also agree on him. Gradually letters from such men began to come in from other parts of the state, the great majority promising support and giving encouragement. James B. Weaver, whose break with the Republican party was still in the future, wrote in March: "I will do all I can for you," adding that although his own name had been mentioned in connection with the governorship, he was not a candidate.[26] On the other hand, ex-Governor Kirkwood, whose

[23] Burkholder to Carpenter, Jan. 20, 25, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. For Gue, see *United States Biographical Dictionary . . . Iowa Volume*, 700-701.

[24] Fort Dodge *North West*, Jan. 26, 1871; Mrs. Carpenter to Carpenter, Feb. 8, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[25] Dolliver, "Ex-Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter," 77.

[26] J. B. Weaver to Carpenter, March 15, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. For Weaver, see

endorsement would have been of aid, wrote Carpenter in April that his support had already been promised to Scott, adding that the "selection of either of you would be entirely satisfactory. . . ." Kirkwood did not plan to take an active part in the canvass, according to his letter, and he was sorry that he could not "go for both you & him."[27]

In Washington, Carpenter was close to Iowa's Congressmen, the "men who can make or unmake Governors." Although support from these men was probably promised in some instances, the Carpenter letters do not reveal it, since his residence in Washington for a number of weeks gave him an opportunity to talk over his candidacy personally. Iowa's two Senators, George G. Wright and James Harlan, were both friendly; while the Representative from the Sixth District, J. W. Orr, would naturally throw his influence to Carpenter. F. W. Palmer of the Fifth District also supported him, while Allison's position on the governorship had already been decided by Dodge.[28]

Senatorial support, however, was an explosive subject in 1871. Allison was making a strong bid for Harlan's seat, and the state was already showing signs of the rivalry which would overshadow the gubernatorial contest, and Carpenter was acting with great circumspection to avoid the fight. Harlan wrote him on May 3, from his home in Mount Pleasant:

> On the subject of your candidacy I have had some difficulty to avoid being misunderstood, and to prevent some of my friends misunderstanding your position, so far as it may be supposed to relate even remotely to the election of U. S. Senator. I have written numerous letters to various parties to this effect: that you and I are personal friends of many years standing; that we have had a frank conversation on the subject of your candidacy, and the possible use of my name before the Legislature; that you wish to be nominated on your own merits without reference to the Senatorial question, and without committals, reserving your liberty to act in relation to the latter question as in your opinion the interests of the State, Nation and Republican Party may seem to you to require; and that I fully approved of your position.[29]

Fred Emory Haynes, *James Baird Weaver* (Iowa City, 1919). Weaver's refusal to be a candidate appeared in the Des Moines *Register*, March 29, 1871.

[27] S. J. Kirkwood to Carpenter, April 3, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[28] See letters to Carpenter from R. E. Carpenter (Feb. 14, 1871), Geo. G. Wright (Feb. 8, 1871), F. W. Palmer (March 20, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*; Allison to Dodge, Jan. 14, 1871, *Dodge Papers*.

[29] James Harlan to Carpenter, May 3, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

On this matter of "senatorial interests" Carpenter continued to win support from both the Allison and Harlan factions of the party, no easy task. General Dodge and Ret Clarkson were determined to defeat Harlan for reelection;[30] other Carpenter friends were just as determined to defeat Allison. Here again the question of locality came up. Generally speaking, southern Iowa favored Harlan of Mount Pleasant, and northern Iowa favored Allison of Dubuque, although there were naturally exceptions. According to Burkholder, the Des Moines correspondent of the Chicago *Times* had reported to his paper that "Harlan and Allison — whichever is the strongest — will make the next Governor."[31]

Emmett Carpenter felt that his brother was in a position that would not "interfere materially with the political interests of either of the Great Champions in the Senatorial Contest," since neither was from the Sixth District. M. M. Trumbull, who was collector of internal revenue at Dubuque, wrote in February that he and Jacob Rich, editor of the Dubuque *Times*, would be controlled "by the manner in which the Governorship question may seem to affect other questions, as the Senatorship for instance," thus indicating that the fear in Dubuque was that a northern candidate for governor might interfere with a northern candidate for senator. The postmaster of Monticello in Jones County, James Davidson, advised Carpenter that "The Allison element is pretty Strong in this section and to what degree the Senatorial fight will influence the Gubernatorial nomination I dont know — I hope you will not mix in it. . . ." A. W. Hubbard, a banker of Sioux City, also warned Carpenter against "any alliance with any of the *Senatorial Aspirants*." On the other hand, James M. Weart, an attorney of Independence in Buchanan County, who was anxious for the success of Allison, "in common with the people of this District," hoped that the Sixth would "come in solid to his support." Locality did not always determine the political complexion of a community, however. From Elkader in

[30] Mills, "The Des Moines Register," 283.

[31] Burkholder to Carpenter, Jan. 20, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. E. A. Teeling, clerk of the Floyd County Distrist Court, wrote to Carpenter that "if it Should be the opinion that the Nomination for Governor Should fall to the 6th District and it would favor the election of Hon Wm B Allison as Senitor [*sic*] from this State I know of no Man who I would Support more willingly than yourself and you must know that the republicans of this District and in fact this north part of the State desire the election of Allison to the Senate." Teeling to Carpenter, March 21, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. See Osage *Mitchell County Press*, Jan. 12, 19, 1871, for further discussion of this question.

Clayton County, G. W. Cook, lawyer, wrote to Carpenter that the delegation from his county would be controlled by the senatorial question, since a majority were "opposed to W B Allison prefering *Harlan* or almost any other good man to him."[32]

Rumors of alliances of Harlan and Scott, or of Allison and Carpenter, were plentiful. Trumbull of Dubuque wrote that "it was reported . . . that your friends and those of Mr. Allison had formed an alliance"; while Aldrich in April felt that there was "no doubt that there is a combination between Scott & Harlan." From Chariton came a warning from William H. Gibbon: "If you are a Harlan man you had better keep that fact mighty dark so far as this part of the State is concerned." On the other hand, J. B. Powers of Cedar Falls reported that he was sure no combination of Harlan and Scott was working against Carpenter's interests. Carpenter, for his part, followed the advice of Elijah Sells, a strong Harlan man, to "Keep out of the Senatorial Contest."[33] Instead, his unofficial campaign managers did their best to quash any such rumors. George W. Jones, state representative from Polk County in 1870, and one of Carpenter's staunch friends, advised him in April:

> I wrote Senator Harlan a long letter a few days since giving him my views of the Contest for Governor & telling him to keep any of his friends from thinking there was any Combination between you & Allison because the North seemed to be supporting you so strongly, told him that I know personally that you would not form any Combination even to secure the nomination. . . . this was a point I thought it very important to make just now, as I see evidences of an active & earley opening of the Senatorial Campaign. . . .[34]

Surface indications were, then, that Carpenter was able to steer clear of the troubled waters of the senatorial contest in spite of rumors and hints. However, the fact that both Carpenter and Allison were backed by the Des Moines Regency — privately if not publicly — made it inevitable that much

[32] Letters to Carpenter from R. E. Carpenter (Feb. 1, 1871), M. M. Trumbull (Feb. 7, 1871), James Davidson (Feb. 24, 1871), A. W. Hubbard (undated, but probably written in March, 1871), James M. Weart (March 18, 1871), and G. W. Cook (April 20, 1871), *Carpenter Papers.*

[33] Letters to Carpenter from Charles Aldrich (April 7, 1871), M. M. Trumbull (March 20, 1871), Wm. H. Gibbon (April 24, 1871), J. B. Powers (April 11, 1871), and Elijah Sells (April 5, 1871), *Carpenter Papers.*

[34] Geo. W. Jones to Carpenter, April 29, 1871, *Carpenter Papers.*

Allison support went to Carpenter. In fact, Tichenor wrote Carpenter privately in May: "We can give you the Allison strength, I think *solid*, and can capture considerably from Harlans forces, unless they come up [to the convention] far better organized than they now are, or are likely to be by that time."[35]

On June 24, three days after Carpenter's nomination, Allison wrote him an interesting and revealing "Private" letter:

> Dear Carpenter: In the Hurly Burly at Des Moines, I did not get to see you, and now wish to sincerely and heartily congratulate you on your nomination for Govr I feel certain, that your selection by the Convention will be fully endorsed at the polls. At your convenience I shall be very glad to see you and talk matters over with you. There are some things I wish to say which I will not trouble you about in a letter. It was claimed at D[es Moines] that your selection was a victory in a direction hostile to me. I am quite willing they should now hear such.[36]

This letter, plus several newspaper comments following the nomination, would indicate that the secret of Carpenter's position in the Allison ranks was well guarded. The Republican Marshalltown *Times* and the Democratic Dubuque *Herald* both misjudged the results, claiming that Carpenter's nomination was a victory for Harlan. Even after the election, Horace Greeley's *Tribune* sagely commented that the result insured Harlan's victory.[37] By clever and astute maneuvering, the dominant wing of the Republican party in Iowa had succeeded in so confusing the issue as to hide their goal from all but those of the "inner circle."

Carpenter, despite his assurance to Dodge that he preferred Allison for Senator, admired and remained friendly to Harlan. After Allison's election Carpenter commented in his diary: "Mr. Allison has not the force or logic as a Speaker as Mr. Harlan," but Allison was, thought Carpenter, "a well balanced active wide-awake man with considerable personal magnetism and will make a good record as a senator."[38]

The senatorial contest was only one facet of the gubernatorial campaign, however. Probably of more influence on the outcome of the canvass than

[35] Tichenor to Carpenter, May 2, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[36] W. B. Allison to Carpenter, June 24, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[37] Marshalltown *Marshall County Times*, quoted in Des Moines *Register*, July 5, 1871; Dubuque *Herald*, June 28, 1871; New York *Tribune*, Oct. 18, 1871.

[38] Carpenter Diary, 1872, entry for Jan. 18, *Carpenter Papers*.

the candidate's preference for Iowa's next Senator was the support of the local editors of the state. Journalism was intensely partisan in the nineteenth century Middle West. Most towns of any size had two papers — Republican and Democratic — and some of the larger urban communities had two Republican journals, representing the two factions of the dominant party. Editorial feuds were the order of the day and became doubly bitter during a political campaign. John P. Irish reported in March that "Early in the year the canvass for Gov. on the radical ticket commenced with activity and in about three days degenerated into virulence."[39] Newspaper readers were bombarded with "puffs" for some candidates or with attacks on others. Since these county papers and their editors wielded great political influence, it was to the advantage of the candidates to win as many of them to their support as possible.

The editorial prize would be, of course, support by the influential Des Moines *Register*. The *Register* refused to take a stand, however. Each candidate received complimentary notices — that for Carpenter appeared early in January and praised his record as Register of the State Land Office, closing with the words: "The people recognize in him a man of morals, convictions, intelligence, and experience, and not a few of them desire his promotion to the Executive chair." Replying to criticism from the Ottumwa *Courier* that he was not more forthright, Clarkson wrote that "the Register is not so fortunate as to have a candidate for Governor of its own. . . . The candidate of this paper for Governor will be the nominee of the party." Thus, although secretly backing Carpenter, the organ of the Regency maintained in print a strict neutrality, a course which Aldrich considered very "peculiar."[40]

Other papers in the state were not so devious. As early as January the Algona *Upper Des Moines* "went" for Carpenter, "first, last, and all the time." C. V. Gardner, editor of the Avoca paper in Pottawattamie County, endorsed Carpenter without an "*if or a but.*" Most northern Iowa papers, especially those of the Sixth District, were strong in his support, at least until the announcement of the candidacy of John Scott. In addition to the Fort Dodge papers, Carpenter received endorsement from the Marshalltown *Times*, the Storm Lake *Pilot*, the Independence *Bulletin*, the Cedar Falls

[39] Iowa City *Press*, March 1, 1871.

[40] See Fort Dodge *North West*, Jan. 19, 1871; Des Moines *Register*, Jan. 25, May 10, 24, 1871. See also Aldrich to Carpenter, April 23, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

Gazette, the Hampton *Free Press*, the Elkader *Journal*, the Webster City *Freeman*, and the Decorah *Republican*. M. C. Woodruff, editor of the Iowa Falls *Sentinel*, wrote Carpenter that "*you're my man for Gov. agst the State*," but added that he would not publicly come out for him until "Huff and the [Eldora] *Ledger*," who were "*forninst*" him, announced for Carpenter. Woodruff reported that he had defended Elliott against his attackers, hoping to force his rival Huff, out of contrariness, to come out for Carpenter; then Woodruff would also support Carpenter and "the county will be a unit for C. C. C." George D. Perkins of the strong Sioux City *Journal*, a Harlan paper, wrote frankly that he would support Elliott on grounds of long acquaintance, but that Carpenter's "manly letter" had raised him "several pegs" in his estimation. Andy Felt of the Nashua *Post* had wanted Ret Clarkson for governor, but Carpenter was his second choice. As the weeks passed more northern Iowa papers "hoisted the Carpenter flag for Governor"; those of Monona, Hancock, Wright, and Plymouth counties, among others. The Waterloo *Reporter* carried "a strong article urging the nomination of Col. Carpenter" in May, and the Cedar Falls *Gazette* found "an almost unanimous expression that the Sixth District should go in solid for Col. Carpenter for Governor."[41]

That political endorsement of a candidate was not without its hazards is shown by a letter to Carpenter from Samuel S. Haislet of the Decorah *Press*:

> Among the many whose names have been mentioned in connection with Gubernatorial honors, none have pleased me as well as yours, and your past record, and I have so expressed myself personally and through the columns of my paper — and right here comes the trouble. I have gone in *opposition* to some whose interests lie in another direction, have brought down upon my head the wrath of *offended* capital, and the result was an instantaneous foreclosure (or Adv. of Sale) of a Chattle Mortgage that covered a portion of my material, thus crippling, and for the time-being, if not for good, rendering my paper harmless, or comparatively so. I do not

[41] See letters to Carpenter from Burkholder (Jan. 17, March 3, 1871), R. E. Carpenter (Jan. 25, 1871), C. V. Gardner (Feb. 22, 1871), Wm. Toman (Feb. 20, 1871), M. C. Woodruff (March 5, 1871), Geo. D. Perkins (March 14, 1871), and Andy Felt (March 20, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*. Also, Fort Dodge *North West*, Jan. 26, Feb. 23, March 16, 1871; Des Moines *Register*, May 24, 31, 1871; Storm Lake *Pilot*, Feb. 1, 22, March 15, 29, April 5, 26, May 3, 17, 1871; Sioux City *Journal*, March 3, 1871; Iowa Falls *Sentinel*, March 29, 1871; Marshalltown *Times*, Jan. 19, March 23, 1871; Iowa City *Republican*, April 26, 1871.

> say that my preference for you is the only cause for thus persecuting me, but my paper has been too free and out-spoken to suit a faction of political "shyters" [*sic*] that are determined to rule or ruin, in this county. A few hundred dollars, *now*, would set all to rights, and to the liberal, honest, working men of the party, whose fate lies in the press of the county, shall I appeal for that assistance which will enable me to [go on] "fighting the good fight," until the *people*, and not the broken-down politicians of the county, shall govern my native State, "Glorious Young Iowa."[42]

Such instances were not unusual. The power of the press in political affairs was recognized; if the opposition press could be stifled or bought off, so much the better. In Mitchell County, the home of John A. Elliott, a strong current against Elliott is revealed in a letter to Carpenter from A. M. Bryson, a lawyer of Osage. The editor of the Osage *Press*, Thomas M. Atherton, at Elliott's request, was to remain neutral in the fight, but it was understood that S. A. Cravath, editor of the Mitchell *News*, was a warm Elliott supporter. Bryson reported that an indefinite "we" planned to buy out the *News*, move it to Osage, and use it to organize a "strong opposition to Mr Elliott." Further developments were reported by Bryson a few weeks later: "Mr Atherton Editor of the Press here will assist us when the time comes but perhaps remain silent in his paper. He was appointed P. M. about two months ago & he knows who his friends were & will not forget them."[43]

In southern Iowa, A. H. Burrows, editor of the Osceola *Republican*, was also having trouble:

> At present I am conducting a Republican newspaper. I was a Kasson supporter last fall & thereby incurred the everlasting displeasure of the "Des Moines ring-masters." They vote us hetrodox and give us the cold shoulder generally. . . . Personally I have confidence in you I hope to hear from you again — If you should correspond with other parties in this County you should avoid the use of my name as your friend. We are very much led by *prejudice*. (sad commentary)[44]

In Adair County, the Republican paper was not so independent. James C. Gibbs wrote Carpenter in March: "the Des Moines Politicians have not as

[42] Sam. S. Haislet to Carpenter, April 19, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[43] A. M. Bryson to Carpenter, Feb. 25, March 16, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[44] A. H. Burrows to Carpenter, March 27, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. Clarkson and the *Register* had opposed John A. Kasson on several occasions.

yet said who they are for when they do so our paper here will follow in their *Wake*."[45]

Other editorial support for Carpenter was forthcoming as the campaign progressed. Charles Beardsley of the Burlington *Hawk-Eye* was friendly to Carpenter and published favorable notices in his paper. From Birmingham and Bentonsport in Van Buren County came newspaper and personal endorsement. O. B. Brown of Bentonsport wrote that he would get the county delegation to agree on Carpenter, adding that "Last winter Ret Clarkson told me that you would probably be a candidate and since that time I have embraced every opportunity to say a word in accordance therewith." This is another indication that the "Des Moines ring-master" had cast his powerful influence on the side of Carpenter early in the campaign. Aldrich, on one of his many trips throughout the state in Carpenter's interest, reported that Harlan's hometown paper, the Mount Pleasant *Journal*, would "have a good notice soon," and that Carpenter could thus be sure of Henry County. In southwestern Iowa, T. V. Shoup, an attorney at Bedford in Taylor County, controlled the paper of that county, by his own admission, and he would see that it gave Carpenter the "preference over others, *at once* if thought advisable to do so." The Iowa City *Republican* favored Carpenter over Elliott, but in March changed its support to Scott. The Clarinda *Page County Herald* and the Winterset *Madisonian* both backed Carpenter; H. M. Belvel, editor of the Lineville *Index* in Wayne County, promised to throw his weight to Carpenter; and in Warren County the Indianola *Leader* "warmly favored Colonel Carpenter's nomination."[46]

The strong Ottumwa *Courier*, edited by General John M. Hedrick and Major A. H. Hamilton, could not be secured by the Carpenter supporters, in spite of constant efforts by Aldrich, Baker, and others to win the two Civil War veterans over to the support of their candidate. Major Hamilton wrote, in answer to Carpenter's solicitation, that his nomination would give

[45] James C. Gibbs to Carpenter, March 2, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[46] Letters to Carpenter from Charles Beardsley (Feb. 9, 1871), O. B. Brown (March 17, 1871), Aldrich (March 17, 1871), T. V. Shoup (March 25, 1871), George H. Powers (April 8, 1871), H. J. B. Cummings (April 5, 1871), H. M. Belvel (April 21, 1871), and W. S. Moore (May 1, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*. See also, Fort Dodge *North West*, Feb. 16, 1871; Birmingham *Enterprise*, quoted in Storm Lake *Pilot*, Feb. 22, 1871; Iowa City *Republican*, March 15, 29, 1871; Clarinda *Page County Herald* quoted in Fort Dodge *North West*, March 23, 1871; Indianola *Warren County Leader*, June 15, 1871; and quotations from various papers in Des Moines *Register*, May 3, 10, 24, 1871.

him "pleasure" but that there were others he could support with "Equal zeal." Wapello County, Hamilton advised, might prefer Henry O'Connor, who was extremely popular there. Since Hedrick held "quite an important office which is a prequisite [*sic*] of the State and travels considerably," they had decided it was "proper to not mingle in the contest." D. M. Dimmick of Monona County wrote Carpenter that a friend of his had heard Hedrick say that Carpenter seemed to be the "favorite candidate," but that was the only encouragement the Carpenter supporters could get. Aldrich wrote that "Hedrick will do nothing for anybody," and Baker, in Ottumwa on business, had "seen no one, who knows anything. Genl Hedrick has gone to his farm or into the country. Hamilton has gone to dinner." With no definite promise from the leading paper of the county, Carpenter relied on the aid of Charles Dudley of Agency, farmer and member of the General Assembly, who gave him "cheerful support."[47]

A week before the convention in June an excursion of editors to Minnesota gave the Carpenter clique a chance for further propaganda. On the train a poll was taken on the gubernatorial and senatorial questions by G. W. Hunt of the Monticello *Express* and E. A. Snyder of the Cedar Falls *Gazette*, with a result most gratifying to Carpenter but obtained in a rather questionable manner. The Muscatine *Journal*, strong O'Connor paper, reported:

> It is but proper to state also that the committee above named was self-appointed, and that nearly all the votes, if not quite all, were taken by Mr. Snyder alone, who is an ardent partizan of Col. Carpenter, and who *put down for Carpenter men who said they had no choice between him and O'Connor*. He did this in our presence, and we and others protested against it at the time, and told him that if he published the result of the vote thus obtained we would expose the unfair manner in which it was taken.[48]

Whether honestly taken or not, the result (reported in one paper as Carpenter, 51; O'Connor, 29; Scott, 26) was widely circulated in the Repub-

[47] Letters to Carpenter from Aldrich (March 21, 1871), Charles Dudley (March 22, 1871), A. H. Hamilton (March 13, 1871), D. M. Dimmick (March 15, 1871), and N. B. Baker (April 7, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*. In 1870 General Hedrick had been appointed Supervisor of Internal Revenue for Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, Colorado, and Dakota, an office which he held until 1876. *The History of Wapello County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1878), 575.

[48] Muscatine *Journal*, June 16, 1871. This item was reprinted in the Democratic Dubuque *Herald*, June 28, 1871.

lican papers for whatever psychological effect it might have on the members of the convention. Evidence that this informal poll was variously reported, according to the political viewpoint of the several editors, added further confusion to the story. The Dubuque *Herald* reported that the "radical editors" on the excursion favored O'Connor and Allison, and the Fort Dodge *North West* quoted figures showing that Carpenter and Harlan led the poll.[49] Whether this nineteenth century experiment in public opinion polling had any real effect on the convention is doubtful; the decision had long been taken by the leaders of Iowa Republicanism.

One of the highlights of the campaign had been the withdrawal — under fire — of John A. Elliott. On the heels of a laudatory article in the Des Moines *Register* in January came an attack on Elliott by the Iowa City *Republican*, which claimed that Elliott had "made too much money out of his position of Auditor to be entitled to further honors from the people of Iowa." An insurance law, passed by the General Assembly in 1868, had provided that the fees collected under the law should be paid to the auditor. The Iowa City *Republican* and other papers which joined in the hue and cry inferred that Elliott had taken the fees illegally, instead of turning them into the state treasury. During January and February the Iowa City *Republican*, the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, and the Marshalltown *Times*, in particular, stormed against Elliott, the last paper warning that "should oily John be elected Governor he would clear at least $100,000 during his Gubernatorial term — and all in a perfectly lawful manner." The *Register* had been quick to point out that Elliott was only acting in accordance with the law, that the auditor received only $1,300 per year, and that the intention of the law had been for the auditor to collect the fees to supplement his small salary. The fact that the insurance business of Iowa, and particularly of Des Moines, was making rapid strides during these years had made these fees much larger than anticipated. The defense of Elliott by the *Register* quickly sent E. N. Chapin, editor of the Marshalltown *Times*, scurrying for cover in a wordy retraction which amused the Iowa City *Republican*, a paper not so easily intimidated by the powerful Des Moines journal.[50]

Rumors that Elliott would sue the Iowa City paper were discounted by

[49] Dubuque *Herald*, June 14, 1871; Fort Dodge *North West*, June 15, 1871.

[50] Iowa City *Republican*, Jan. 11, Feb. 22, 1871; Marshalltown *Times*, Jan. 26, Feb. 9, 1871; Storm Lake *Pilot*, Feb. 15, 1871; Osage *Mitchell County Press*, Feb. 16, 1871; Des Moines *Register*, Feb. 8, 1871. For insurance law, see *Laws of Iowa, 1868*, Ch. 138.

Burkholder, "for Elliott is too sharp to do as foolish a thing as that," but these attacks, he added, had rendered Elliott a "dead duck, politically." Elliott had not been "too sharp" to consider bringing a libel suit against the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, however. He had tried to retain Thomas A. Withrow of Des Moines to bring such a suit, but Withrow "rejected the retainer" and instead wrote General Dodge. Tichenor also wrote Dodge on Elliott's behalf, suggesting that the General get the Council Bluffs paper to "*dry up*." Thus, although there were no libel suits, the newspaper stories were hurting Elliott politically. Aldrich assured Carpenter that, although Elliott was "working with might & main," he could not "find a man who supports him — certainly *not one* in Des Moines." On February 3 Elliott wrote an angry letter to Carpenter, asking if he endorsed or encouraged such "attacks on an old friend," and suggesting that Carpenter had the power to stop them. "I can't be 'shelved' in that way," he concluded, "and such a course if it does injure me would *not* help you." "Shelved" he was, however, and rather quickly. Lacking any assurances of help from the politically powerful, after a few months of work he retired from the contest on April 3, "owing to the pressure of my private business," as he phrased it. This had been a foregone conclusion to those who knew Iowa politics and who knew Elliott. Isaac Brandt, who claimed that he knew Elliott "as well as he does himself," had prophesied as early as February 15 that Elliott would "fly the track before the convention comes off."[51]

Thus, one strong contender was removed from Carpenter's path. The way was now open for some of the party leaders to work publicly for Carpenter. It is significant to note that Tichenor's public support for Carpenter did not come until April 5, two days after Elliott had withdrawn. Tichenor had written Dodge in January: "I cant promise much *open* work while John A. Elliott is a candidate as he & I are good friends." He had to keep himself "in shape to *control* Elliott." It was an "unpleasant and dangerous situation" but he did not intend to "shrink from *anything*," and suggested that Dodge, Allison, and James F. Wilson "make every possible show of friendship toward Elliott consistent with honor." Now, with Elliott safely out of the way, the campaign could move ahead as planned. William Lar-

[51] See letters to Carpenter from Burkholder (Jan. 20, 27, Feb. 7, 1871), Aldrich (Jan. 24, 1871), John A. Elliott (Feb. 3, 1871), Isaac Brandt (Feb. 15, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*. Letters to Dodge from Elliott (Jan. 13, 1871), Tichenor (Jan. 13, 1871), and Thos. A. Withrow (Jan. 16, 1871), *Dodge Papers*. Elliott's letter of withdrawal, dated April 3, appears in the Des Moines *Register*, April 5, 1871.

rabee had written to Carpenter in March that Elliott "ought not to be in the field, we cannot nominate him but with him out of the way we can nominate you."[52]

However, another contender had already appeared on the scene. On March 20, after repeated rumors as to his candidacy, John Scott of Story County in the Sixth District wrote frankly to Carpenter: "I have at last consented to take a 'weak hand' in the little game for Gubernatorial Honors. I want to see you, and talk over the situation. I expect you will want to win, and would rather beat two men than have one man beat you! How is that?"[53] Carpenter's answer to this bald statement is not known, but a knowledge of the future governor's character would indicate either a flat rejection or silence. Since Carpenter had no need to make any kind of a "deal" — his backers had already assured his nomination, barring an improbable revolt in the ranks of the party — the letter undoubtedly went unanswered. However, rumors of such a "deal" were already in circulation. In Marshalltown, shortly after his letter to Carpenter, Scott was explaining that "himself and Col Carpenter, and their respective friends, have agreed together, to work away till the Convention sits, and then determine, which will withdraw in favor of the other." In April he began "abusing" Carpenter, saying that the latter had "*arranged*" things and then gone back on him. Aldrich, who reported this incident, added that "I guess no one believes him."[54]

Who was back of Scott's candidacy? This was the question that troubled Carpenter and his friends. Clarkson, in his "Mum" letter, hints at "unseen causes . . . operating in the Scott interest — Masonry or Harlanism, or both." Aldrich had reported that there was undoubtedly a combination between Scott and Harlan, but J. B. Powers of Cedar Falls discounted this, at least as far as his county was concerned, adding that "Mr Harlans own sense would teach him better."[55] There was a strong feeling, however, that "some one" was back of Scott, "for the purpose of detracting from

[52] Geo. C. Tichenor to Grenville M. Dodge, Jan. 7, 25, 1871, *Dodge Papers*, Wm. Larrabee to Carpenter, March 17, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[53] John Scott to Carpenter, March 20, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[54] See letters to Carpenter from A. K. Welles (Feb. 7, 1871), J. M. Parker (April 15, 1871), Aldrich (April 26, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*. See, also, for a newspaper report of this "agreement," Dubuque *Times*, April 19, 1871.

[55] See letters to Carpenter from "Mum" (April 22, 1871), Aldrich (April 7, 1871), J. B. Powers (April 11, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*.

[Carpenter's] popularity." George W. Jones of Des Moines could "only guess at the source and projectors" of Scott's action, but he assured Carpenter that his friends "about the Capital are not Idle, and . . . the tennants of that institution are a Unit." Aldrich, who was constantly traveling about the state in Carpenter's interest, thought that Scott had been brought out by Elliott "together with Price & Baldwin," in order to defeat Carpenter. This information seems to have worried Carpenter, however, who wrote to John Russell. Russell's reply, dated March 28, 1871, was in part a confirmation of the rumor, in part a reassurance of his friends' efforts in his behalf. "I suspect your impressions in regard to Mr E. bringing out Candidates are correct Some of us here have suspected that dodge for some days. Brandt will write to Price this evening expecting he can draw the desired information from him. If otherwise he will go down to Davenport." Scott, in spite of a certain amount of support, some due to "army relations," did not hurt Carpenter seriously, although he remained in the contest until the end.[56]

Henry O'Connor's chances remained good right up to the time of the convention. Spared the slanders against Elliott and the innuendoes about Scott, O'Connor was treated to a sort of respectful neglect by the Carpenter men. A popular Republican orator, the witty Irishman had many friends throughout the state. Brandt, who was generalling Carpenter's forces, suggested that it was "best for us to keep on the good side of all the O'Conner [*sic*] Men." Doubts as to O'Connor's executive ability and to the "safety" of his nomination were expressed by several; his "bitter temperance speeches" had also alienated the Germans in Scott County. There is, furthermore, some indication that the Irishman was the victim of the remnants of the anti-foreign Know-Nothingism still existing in some areas. Clarkson's reference to Scott's use of his "Masonry" would seem to confirm this. Whatever the various reasons, the popular O'Connor was soon complaining that "every body was against him at Des Moines & particularly State officials."[57]

[56] See letters to Carpenter from Aldrich (March 22, 1871), T. W. Harrison (March 31, 1871), Geo. W. Jones (March 31, 1871), S. G. Ruby (March 30, 1871), John Russell (March 28, 1871), *Carpenter Papers*. For Price, see B. F. Gue, "The Public Services of Hiram Price," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 1:585–602 (January, 1895). Price, banker and railroad promoter of Davenport, had long been prominent in the Republican party.

[57] For O'Connor, see letters to Carpenter from G. L. Godfrey (Jan. 16, 1871), L. W. Ross (April 12, 1871), N. B. Baker (April 16, June 12, 1871), Wm. B. Leach

As the time for the convention drew near activity increased and rumors flourished. Late in May the Des Moines correspondent of the Chicago *Post* wrote his paper: "The friends of Carpenter, from various parts of the State, held a caucus last night at the Savery, and this morning assert that the next Governor of Iowa was then and there nominated." This story was seized upon by the anti-Carpenter Iowa City *Republican*, accompanied with sarcastic comments and indignant disapproval. "If there is anything we detest," the editor concluded, "it is for a few men to assume the management of the affairs of a great party, or the affairs of the people. The convention will serve these men just right to tip over their little dish and nominate some other man, and then see what they will do about it." The holding of such a caucus was promptly denied by Gue in his paper, and the article was reprinted in the Des Moines *Register*. Clarkson wrote Carpenter that he had received a dozen letters about the caucus, "intended to prejudice me against you, all of them saying that the caucus was held, that the whole ticket was written, and Aldrich pledged the whole strength of yourself and friends for State Printer." The letter closes with the strange statement: "But this, were it true, would not deter me from treating you fairly, nor make me think one whit less of you as man or candidate." Certainly if such a caucus had been held, without Clarkson's knowledge, and plans made for awarding the lucrative job of state printer to Aldrich (a job which went to Clarkson himself after the election), any further support from the "Des Moines ring-master" would have been impossible. The conclusion would seem to be that the story was merely a political trick in an effort to cause last-minute dissension in the ranks.[58]

The nominating convention was scheduled for June 21, in Des Moines. In the weeks preceding this date, the counties were holding local conventions and nominating delegates. This was the crucial period, this was the time when the various candidates were marshaling their strength and reaping the rewards of months of hard work. The most satisfactory result would be to have a county delegation "instructed" for you; the next best thing would be to have it "uninstructed," thus leaving the way open for influence on the convention floor. As the various counties met and ap-

(April 21, 1871), J. M. Day (May 3, 1871), "Mum" (April 22, 1871); Brandt to Aldrich, April 21, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[58] Iowa City *Republican*, May 24, June 14, 1871; Fort Dodge *North West*, June 1, 1871; Clarkson to Carpenter, June 5, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

pointed delegates, word was sent to the favored candidates and notices appeared in the newspapers, claiming this or that county for this or that man. Carpenter, now in Des Moines, wrote his wife on June 8: "Tell Emmett or Arthur, if they hear of any counties which have gone for me, to drop a line to the *Register* and Mr Brandt. It will then be handled to my advantage."[59]

In Polk County Carpenter's unofficial manager, Isaac Brandt, was chairman of the committee to nominate members to the State Convention. Although the delegation was purposely uninstructed ("for you know Polk County has some enemies"), Brandt reported that he saw each man "in person before I made my report, that they were sound for you . . .," and each gave his pledge to vote for Carpenter. In Cedar County the same technique was followed: "Delegates not instructed [but] we run the convention in your interest and will give you the vote of this County for Governor." In order to keep the strong Wapello County delegation from being instructed for O'Connor, Carpenter made a flying trip to Ottumwa on June 10, and succeeded in getting an uninstructed delegation. Gue suggested that "if you could get Ret Clarkson to go *quietly* among the *uninstructed* Delegations and confidently say that he thinks you will be nominated, it will have more influence than any other one thing."[60]

Instructed or uninstructed, the candidates began to gather in Des Moines by June 21. A week before, on June 14, the Democrats with much less fanfare had met in convention and nominated J. C. Knapp of Van Buren County for governor and M. M. Ham of Dubuque for lieutenant governor — both by acclamation.[61] This task had been merely a formality; the chance of a Democratic victory in Iowa in 1871 was infinitesimal. Not so with the Republican Convention, however. The men who met in Des Moines, at Moore's Hall on Fourth and Walnut, were going to name a governor and they knew it. The election in October would be an aftermath.

As early as April Colonel Godfrey had reserved rooms in Des Moines for Carpenter, whether at a hotel or in Moore's Hall is not clear from his

[59] Carpenter to Mrs. Carpenter, June 8, 1871, *Carpenter Papers.*

[60] See letters to Carpenter from Brandt (June 4, 1871), Geo. W. Jones (June 5, 1871), J. W. Bull (June 7, 1871), R. E. Carpenter (June 16, 1871); Carpenter to Mrs. Carpenter, June 11, 1871; G. L. Godfrey to R. E. Carpenter, June 5, 1871, *Carpenter Papers.*

[61] Iowa City *Press*, June 21, 1871; Des Moines *Register*, June 21, 1871.

letter.[62] The convention, of some 600 delegates, was the largest ever to assemble in Des Moines, and the hall was crowded to capacity. Called to order by State Chairman Clarkson at 10 A. M. on June 21, the convention ran smoothly, as planned by the leaders, and without a hitch. After the election of M. E. Cutts of Mahaska County as temporary chairman, the usual committees were appointed and a new State Central Committee named. In the afternoon meeting Cutts was made permanent president, and the convention settled down to the business of nominating a governor.[63]

J. A. Parvin of Muscatine, one of the founders of the Republican party in Iowa, nominated Henry O'Connor. Judge Alonzo Converse of Butler County then presented the name of Cyrus C. Carpenter. John Scott was nominated by H. W. Rothert, mayor of Keokuk, and two "favorite sons," C. W. Slagle of Jefferson County and Ezekiel Clark of Johnson, were also named. The convention at once proceeded to the usual informal ballot, which gave Carpenter 375 of the total 616 votes, with 156 for O'Connor, 56 for Scott, and 14 and 15 respectively for Slagle and Clark. Before the final count was announced, counties began to change their votes to Carpenter; Parvin moved that the nomination be made by acclamation without the taking of a formal ballot, a motion which was accepted and carried with "the greatest enthusiasm." [64]

The Democratic account of the convention, sent to the Dubuque *Herald* by its Des Moines correspondent, gives a more detailed account of the voting:

> Ballot for governor was then demanded, and the call of counties made. Occasionally during the call a county would request to be passed. The roll having been got through, it was evident that . . . the contest was close between O'Connor and Carpenter. The Carpenter men were wide awake and had their programme perfectly arranged. Counties which had been passed during the call began to announce their desire to *change* to Carpenter. The ball thus set in motion rolled down all opposition, and the O'Connor men were speedily demoralized. . . . The trick was a good one and handsomely played.[65]

[62] G. L. Godfrey to Carpenter, April 4, 1871, *Carpenter Papers.*

[63] For a complete account of the convention, see Des Moines *Register*, June 28, 1871. The call for the convention, which listed the number of delegates for each county, appeared in the *Register* for April 5, 1871.

[64] Des Moines *Register*, June 28, 1871.

[65] Dubuque *Herald*, June 28, 1871.

Thus, hardly by a "trick" but in the time-honored American political tradition of managing conventions, the work of six months had resulted in the nomination of the candidate who had been chosen by the leaders of the Republican party in Iowa as early as January.

The nomination of Dr. H. C. Bulis of Winneshiek County for lieutenant governor was accepted passively by the Republicans and angrily by the Democrats. Whereas the Democrats could find little to complain of in Carpenter's nomination or in Carpenter's record, with the nomination of Bulis they unlimbered their biggest guns. Hints of Bulis' candidacy had already brought forth bitter articles in the Democratic Dubuque *Herald* and Iowa City *Press* in May. According to Irish, Bulis' nomination would "signalize the subserviency of the [Republicans] to the interests of corporations." Iowa and the nation were, in 1871, on the verge of the anti-monopoly, and especially anti-railroad, agitation of 1872–1874. The Democrats claimed that Bulis, who had served several terms in the General Assembly as senator from Winneshiek County, was controlled by the railroad interests of the state. A bill to regulate freight rates had passed the 1870 House by a small vote. The Iowa City *Press* claimed that the bill was defeated in the Senate through the action of Bulis and other "purple" Senators.

> And after the fight was over . . . [Bulis] sat down to the series of champagne suppers given by the railroad men to celebrate their victory over the people, won by his efforts. Those banquets, in "Number 1," Savery House, will not soon be forgotten, either by the favored few who sat to them with Bulis and the "Purple" Senators, or by the people who sat outside and listened to the revelry as the wine went round.

The Dubuque *Herald*, calling Bulis either an "idiot" or a "scalawag" — they were not sure which — claimed that he had not represented the people, "but the railroad monopolies." [66]

Whether Bulis could qualify for all the epithets hurled at him by the Democrats is not certain. He had consistently opposed railroad freight regulation in the Senate, and his leading opponent for the lieutenant governor-

[66] Iowa City *Press*, May 24, 1871; Dubuque *Herald*, May 10, 1871. Other comments appear in the Iowa City *Press*, June 14, 28, 1871; Dubuque *Herald*, May 17, June 28, 1871. For a political biography of Bulis, see Fort Madison *Plain Dealer*, July 6, 1871; Des Moines *Register*, June 28, 1871. As a member of the Senate Committee on Railroads in 1870, Bulis had consistently voted against a bill to regulate freight rates, but so had a number of other Senators — a sufficient number to defeat the bill. See *Senate Journal, 1870, passim*, Senate File 125.

ship, Senator G. G. Bennett of Washington County, had voted in favor of such regulations in the 1870 legislature. There was undoubtedly influence on the operation of the convention by the railroad interests of the state; such influence and control was widespread throughout the country in these years of rapid railroad expansion. Dodge was a prominent railroad man and very probably approved of Bulis. Tichenor had written him in January: "We *must* fix on a *good* man for Lieut. Gov. one who will . . . give us the Committees." Jacob Rich, influential Republican and editor of the Dubuque *Times*, had, as early as May 3, heartily endorsed Bulis' candidacy, with the comment that "no man mentioned is more worthy of the position than that gentleman. . . . He is just such a man . . . as the convention ought to nominate for Lieut. Governor, and we hope to see him placed upon the ticket."[67] Evidently the management of the Republican convention was satisfied with Bulis, and after a few more flurries against him, the Democratic papers, busy with other foes, turned their attention elsewhere.

General Dodge was well pleased. "I can almost drum together an old staff of *Governors* and other officials," he wrote to Carpenter on June 28. "*You* of *Iowa*, *Noyes of Ohio*, and likely another from Pennsylvania. . . . No one feels better satisfied than I in the result, and it gives me no little satisfaction to see the men who were so true to me in my struggles for success in the war building themselves up in their own homes and reaping the reward they are fully entitled to If you come out here in your canvass come to my house."[68]

The outcome of the October election was never in question; the work of the campaign was to be concentrated on winning by a 40,000 majority, a new high in Iowa Republican victories. In fact, so widespread was this hope, that the Des Moines pastor, the "Reverend Dr. Wilson," who gave the prayer before the convention, carried away by political loyalty, asked Divine intervention for this majority, much to the amusement and delight of the delegates and to the righteous indignation of the Democrats.[69]

The canvass was a strenuous one. Despite the assurance of victory in October, and despite a popular and acceptable candidate, the Republicans

[67] Geo. C. Tichenor to G. M. Dodge, Jan. 25, 1871, *Dodge Papers*. Dubuque *Times*, May 3, 1871.

[68] G. M. Dodge to Carpenter, June 28, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. Edward F. Noyes, of Ohio, formerly on Dodge's staff during the Civil War, had just been nominated by the Republican convention in Ohio for governor.

[69] Iowa City *Republican*, June 28, 1871; Dubuque *Herald*, June 28, 1871.

had no intention of resting on their laurels. Beginning on August 15, Carpenter made one and sometimes two speeches daily (Sundays excepted) right up to the eve of the election on October 10. Starting at Council Bluffs, he covered every town of consequence in southern Iowa, concentrating his efforts there since the vote of the northern section of the state was practically assured. But speeches by the leading candidate were not the only political fare offered the voters of Iowa. The State Central Committee, with George C. Tichenor now chairman in place of Clarkson, arranged schedules for Harlan, Allison, the defeated but loyal O'Connor, exgovernors Kirkwood and Stone, Senator George G. Wright, the Iowa Representatives in Congress, "and other prominent speakers." Gue claimed that "With two hundred speakers and as many Republican newspapers scattered throughout the State to aid in the work, the campaign will be one of the most vigorous and active that we have ever had in Iowa, and with the valuable assistance that the Rev. Wilson invoked at an early day, we expect to be able to 'give the usual 40,000 majority.' "[70] In a day when two, three, and even four-hour speeches were not only acceptable, but expected, Iowa settled down to another season of politics.

The campaign "theme" had been decided by the Democratic platform, the so-called "new departure" of a party which still bore the onus of the rebellion. In their 1871 platform the Democrats, following the leadership of Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio, had "departed" from their old position in regard to the various Republican reconstruction measures so far as to accept the controversial amendments to the Constitution — the famous thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth — and to propose acceptance of the Constitution "as it now exists, without reference to the means by which the same became the supreme law of the land."[71] This "new departure" was

[70] Fort Dodge *North West*, July 27, 1871; also quoted in Storm Lake *Pilot*, Aug. 2, 1871. For Carpenter's campaign schedule, see Des Moines *Register*, Aug. 9, 16, 1871.

[71] For Iowa Democratic platform, see Iowa City *Press*, June 21, 1871. Earle D. Ross has written of this movement, that "certain of the more astute Democratic leaders concluded, even before 1872, that the party's best move was to renounce its past attitude toward the war and its results and make a new start. In the Montgomery County Convention at Dayton, Ohio, May 18, 1871, Clement L. Vallandigham, the recognized leader of the peace Democrats, secured the adoption of resolutions fully accepting the war amendments. These resolutions were endorsed the next month after a considerable contest, in the state convention. The platform, generally termed the 'New Departure,' was accepted by the later state conventions of the year and by leading party organs." Earle Dudley Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (New York, 1919), 68-9.

the butt of many Republican witticisms. The Ottumwa *Courier*, torn between amusement and sarcasm, reported that the "genuine, simon pure, original old schoveltyfunk democrats, who never learn anything and never forget anything, are in as much of a flutter at Vallandigham's 'new departure,' as the historic old hen was, whose brood of new fledged goslings took to water as soon as they were hatched." The "new departure," as the *Courier* saw it, was an indication that the Democratic party was dead. In Carpenter's acceptance speech before the nominating convention he had referred to the Democratic position as a "reaching out one foot, feeling for the Republican Platform. . . ." About one-third of one of his campaign speeches dealt with various Democratic "departures," likening them to the successive retreats of the Confederate armies before Sherman during the siege of Atlanta, an exposition which delighted his Republican audiences and "brought down the house" in at least one instance.[72]

Carpenter's campaign speeches were not entirely devoted to poking fun at the Democrats, however; he gave "an able review of the noble record of the Republican party in the State and Nation," and a "plain and explicit" statement of his position on the controversial tariff question, a position which was strictly orthodox.[73] "On the intricate question of tariff," commented the Des Moines *Register*, "a question he neither dodges nor blinks, it is among politicians admitted that he makes the best speech of any stumper we have in Iowa, making its dark ways plainer, going down into its mysteries deeper, and laying the whole subject barer to the view of the common mind, than any one who has brought the subject into the arena of debate in our State."[74]

Very little of Carpenter's two-hour speech was devoted to Iowa problems, aside from a passing reference to the prosperity and rapid growth of the state, a condition attributed to Republican rule. Nor did he waste time on his opponent. Campaign techniques of the seventies required that the

[72] Ottumwa *Courier*, June 1, 1871. For Carpenter's acceptance speech, see Des Moines *Register*, June 28, 1871. A notebook of miscellaneous speeches for 1868 to 1873 in the *Carpenter Papers* includes a "Skeleton of a Speech made by C. C. Carpenter in the campaign of 1871." This speech was published in the Indianola *Warren County Leader*, Sept. 14, 1871, and received favorable comment in the Centerville *Weekly Citizen*, Sept. 2, 1871; Des Moines *Register*, Oct. 4, 1871; Ottumwa *Courier*, Aug. 24, 1871; and Lyons *Mirror*, Aug. 26, 1871.

[73] Lyons *Mirror*, Aug. 26, 1871; Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, quoted in Fort Dodge *North West*, Aug. 24, 1871.

[74] Des Moines *Register*, June 28, 1871.

party, and not the candidate, be elected. Although elections might be purely local, the appeal to the voter was on a national basis. Carpenter's traditionally Republican high tariff stand, while popular with the orthodox, would have little effect on Congressional action and would seem to be out of place in a gubernatorial contest. Nevertheless, this form of campaign oratory was expected in the seventies, and Carpenter gave the voter what he wanted. His frequent references to the Civil War, while more refined than some types of "bloody shirt" oratory, were also traditional.

The campaign — considered a "dull, dragging one" by the Democrats[75] — progressed through the hot summer and fall months. It was a canvass remarkably free from personal attacks. Only one effort was made to "smear" Carpenter, and that came from an Illinois paper, the Springfield *Illinois State Register*, and proved a miserable failure. Hardly had the candidate returned to Fort Dodge after the nominating convention, to be received with the usual brass bands and the inevitable speeches,[76] before several Iowa papers, with or without comment, reprinted the Illinois paper's accusations, which impugned Carpenter's honesty while in the commissary department of the Union Army. The fact that Carpenter had come "out of the office a poorer man than he went into it" had often been quoted as an evidence of his unusual honesty. From a position where he had a chance for "what many considered honorable speculation," he had emerged with an untarnished reputation. When he ascended the rostrum for his acceptance speech before the convention, one delegate remarked, "Now we will see the Commissary who didn't make any money!"[77]

Therefore, when the Springfield *Register's* article appeared, accusing Carpenter of favoritism in the issuance of rations and of profiting from his position, even the Democratic papers of Iowa exerted little or no effort to make political capital of it. Irish's Democratic Iowa City *Press* reprinted the article, but without comment. The Keokuk *Constitution* remarked that there must be some truth in the story, since the Illinois editor had been in the Union Army. The Birmingham *Enterprise* immediately countered with the assertion that the Keokuk editor, Thomas W. Clagett, had served with Carpenter and should know the statements were "false in every particular." To J. M. Shaffer, secretary to the State Agricultural Society, the

[75] Dubuque *Herald*, Aug. 30, 1871.

[76] Fort Dodge *North West*, June 22, 1871.

[77] Des Moines *Register*, June 28, 1871.

newspaper story was merely "*villainous trash*" and he advised Carpenter to ignore it. Gue, in the Fort Dodge *North West*, branded the story "absurd," while Jacob Rich, in the Dubuque *Times*, wrote that the "story looks like a lie, reads like a lie, and unquestionably is a lie. . . ."[78] Carpenter's reputation for honesty and sincerity was too well established in his home state to be tarnished by this type of political muck-raking; the story was soon forgotten.

Another comment on Carpenter, more to the public taste, appeared in the newspapers shortly after the nomination. W. Oakley Ruggles of New York, a former Fort Dodge resident, wrote Carpenter of his pleasure in the nomination in a style typical of the old-school manner of the nineteenth century.

> I am glad. These words coming from a friend in your earlier life struggles, and from one who holds different political opinions, are an honest greeting. They tell you of the pleasure it gives me to see your success, yet I believe it but a just tribute to that ingrained integrity and honesty which is so twisted in your nature as not to be riven. . . .
>
> This nomination from a dominant party is no empty honor, but with all its flattering compliment, its chief significance is not the benefit the state will derive from your administration of its affairs, nor the strength which your party will get from your leadership — both great — but the bright example which the young men of the Country will have for imitation, and the great lesson taught, that sterling integrity and honest effort to do right, is a surer road to the highest honors and trusts, than the devious ways of chicanery and shallow pretense which sometimes foist pretenders into high places only to make their dishonesty a reproach to themselves, and suffering to the people.
>
> You will please pardon me if only to draw the attention of the young men of Iowa more sharply to your career and its causes, I have given this letter to the press.[79]

Meanwhile, Carpenter was traveling throughout the state, speaking in behalf of the Republican party, rather than in behalf of himself. He trav-

[78] The Springfield *Illinois State Register* article appears in the Iowa City *Press*, July 12, 1871. See Fort Dodge *North West*, July 13, Aug. 3, 1871 (for quotes from Keokuk *Constitution* and Birmingham *Enterprise*), and Dubuque *Times*, July 12, 1871. J. M. Shaffer to Carpenter, July 8, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*.

[79] W. Oakley Ruggles to Carpenter, June 22, 1871, *Carpenter Papers*. See also Fort Dodge *North West*, July 20, 1871; Centerville *Citizen*, Aug. 12, 1871.

eled by train, by stage, by carriage — in any conveyance available. Iowa's railroads were still in the process of building in the early seventies — many towns could only be reached by more primitive means. The candidate's campaign expenses were light, however. Leading local Republicans entertained him on overnight stops, and he traveled by passes on all the railroads. The anti-railroad, anti-pass sentiment was still in the future. The Illinois Central provided a pass at "the suggestion of Hon. W. B. Allison." Iowa's secretary of state, Ed Wright, sent Carpenter passes on the Burlington and Missouri and the Rock Island. The Des Moines Valley Railroad, in spite of Carpenter's activities in Washington against its land policies, provided free transportation. And B. F. Allen wrote: "Thinking you would be running around to *look* at *the crops and country* and as our Road runs through a pretty nice region I enclose pass which please accept from our company" — the North Western.[80]

Thus supplied, the future governor could "make his canvass" at very little expense. Since campaign speakers paid their own way, and since Carpenter was always plagued by money worries — he admitted that he never was a "money-maker" — this assistance was of great help. Although both parties carried planks in their platforms advocating some type of railroad regulation, the roads themselves were still sure of their power and influence over legislation and were extremely liberal with passes to public officials — both real and potential. Charles Aldrich, who in 1881 would sponsor a bill to stop this indiscriminate issuance of passes, in 1871 thought nothing of requesting, or accepting, passes to enable him to tour the state in Carpenter's behalf.[81]

The railroad question, which would be the paramount issue in 1873, was still in the background in 1871. Carpenter, and the Republican platform, favored some type of regulation and "a uniform system of taxation." Both

[80] See letters to Carpenter from John Newell, President Illinois Central R. R. (June 26, 1871), Geo. C. Tichenor (July 15, 1871), Ed Wright (July 8, 10, 12, 1871), B. F. Allen (July 14, 1871), *Carpenter Papers.*

[81] "I got a pass on D. & S. C. Ry the other day — through Allison. Shall go up on that line in a few days & possibly visit Dubuque & Sioux City both, on gubernatorial business. Write me, what you wish me to do. I have promise of Pass on B & M, & hope to get one from Dodge, Palmer, Allen on C & N W & C. R. I. & P. . . ." Aldrich to Carpenter, Feb. 2, 1871, *Carpenter Papers.* In January, Emmett Carpenter had written to his brother: "Aldrich thinks you can manage some way to get R. R. Passes over the R. Roads in this State, and says if you can he will visit every County in the State for you." R. E. Carpenter to Carpenter, Jan. 26, 1871, *Carpenter Papers.*

the candidate and the party proposed "proper legislative enactments [so] as to effectually prevent monopoly and extortion on the part of railroad and all other companies."[82] This was mostly lip-service to a slowly growing sentiment against the railroads — a sentiment which would explode in 1872–1874 into the Granger movement and the Anti-Monopoly party, and would lead Carpenter himself, as early as January of 1873, to make his famous speech to the Grange, in which he called the high railroad freight rates "the skeleton in every Western farmer's corn crib," a speech which went far to re-elect him in 1873.[83] This controversy, however, was in the future in 1871. No big issue faced the party or the state then; this was merely another gubernatorial contest, with the issue the size of the majority which the Republicans could pile up.

The election, on October 10, was all that the party could have wished. The Republican majority (in a total vote of 177,098) was 41,358. Only seven counties — Allamakee, Audubon, Dubuque, Fremont, Jackson, Johnson, and Lee — showed Democratic majorities, and some of these by very small margins.[84] No little credit for this victory can be given to Carpenter, the candidate chosen by the party leaders as a "clever man but not a strong man."[85]

That Carpenter was not only "clever" but also "strong" would be shown in his four years as governor. Faced with mounting farm unrest, minor but vexing problems of building the new Capitol, large and small scandals, and the financial panic of 1873, Carpenter led the state with a calm and sure hand. Johnson Brigham wrote of him later:

> No better representative of Lincoln's "plain people" of the West ever sat in the executive chair than Cyrus Clay Carpenter, eighth governor of Iowa. Strong mentally and physically, unpolished but gentle, hard-headed, kind-hearted, keenly intelligent, inherently just, and yet instinctively generous, Governor Carpenter was in all respects a man to be affectionately remembered and to be held up before the youth of Iowa as an example worthy their imitation.[86]

[82] For Republican platform see Des Moines *Register*, June 28, 1871.

[83] See Mildred Throne, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868–1875," Iowa Journal of History, 47:289–324 (October, 1949).

[84] See *Legislative Documents . . . 1872*, Vol. 2, "Rules of the 14th General Assembly . . .," pp. 28–30, for official vote.

[85] Geo. C. Tichenor to G. M. Dodge, Jan. 25, 1871, *Dodge Papers*.

[86] Johnson Brigham, *Iowa, Its History and Its Foremost Citizens* (3 vols., Chicago, 1915), 1:432.

Carpenter's personal popularity saved the Republicans from defeat in 1873, and he retired from office in 1876 so well liked by the people of Iowa that, had he been willing to make a fight for it, he might possibly have been sent to the United States Senate, over the opposition of his erstwhile backers, Dodge, Clarkson, and Allison.

All this, however, was in the future. In the fall of 1871 Carpenter returned to his home in Fort Dodge and settled down to prepare himself to become a governor. He now took a back seat in the public arena; interest until January, 1872, would center on the senatorial contest.

Late in December Carpenter moved to Des Moines where he worked busily, receiving visitors, correcting proof on his address, and "putting up beds, fixing carpets and finding the proper places for furniture" in his new home. By January 3 the "Senatorial lobby" arrived in Des Moines and on the evening of January 10 the caucus of the Republican members of the legislature met and nominated their choice for United States Senator — William B. Allison.[87] The following day Carpenter wrote in his diary:

> To-day I was Inaugurated. During the A. M. and on the way to the capitol I felt many misgivings. But after getting on the Platform although in the presence of an immense audience and surrounded by all the dignitaries of the State I seemed to loose [*sic*] all trepidation and only thought of doing my duty in a manly way.[88]

Thus modestly, after an exciting year of campaigning, Cyrus Clay Carpenter, at forty-two, began his services as governor of Iowa. He had achieved office by the old and tried political techniques of American politics. The significance of his whole campaign of nomination and election is not that it was unusual, but that it was typical of the times — and Carpenter was also a typical candidate, except that he was probably more honest than most state officials who were being offered to the voters in the seventies. This honesty carried him through two terms of office and is credited with saving his party from defeat in 1873 when the Anti-Monopolists and the Grangers put the first dent in the armor of Republican confidence.

[87] Carpenter Diary, 1872, entries, Jan. 2–10, *Carpenter Papers.*

[88] *Ibid.*, entry for Jan. 11.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society has accepted with regret the resignation of Dr. Jacob A. Swisher, research associate and staff member for twenty-eight years. Dr. Swisher brought to his position qualities of the artist and scholar that lent a distinctive flavor and charm to his writings. George Mills, writing in the Des Moines *Register*, states that "Leafing through Swisher's writings is like a trip down through Iowa history."

Since he became a researcher with the Society in 1922, Dr. Swisher has written several books and more than 100 historical articles. His book, *Iowa, Land of Many Mills*, is perhaps his best-known work. Two biographies — those of Robert Gordon Cousins and Leonard Fletcher Parker — were published by the Society, in addition to *Iowa in Times of War* and *The American Legion in Iowa, 1919–1929*. His scholarly publications on municipal government in Iowa and on the sessions of the General Assembly are recognized works in the field of government.

Many topics of Iowa history have been touched upon in the writings of Dr. Swisher. These have included stories of exciting fights for county seats; of Ralph, the Dubuque Negro; of the "half-breed" tract; of heroic Kate Shelly; and of many other historic events. Dr. Swisher will continue to write historical articles at his leisure.

On July 29, 1950, the Society inaugurated its annual tours of the Amana Colonies, under the direction of Superintendent William J. Petersen. Some 125 persons took part in this first tour, which visited many points of interest in the seven villages which make up the colony. The tour included stops at the church, the bakery, a dairy and large cattle barns, the famous Amana refrigerator plant, the cabinet shop, the woolen mills, the winery, and various stores and shops. The highlight of the tour was a visit to the homes and gardens of John and William Noe, where members of the Society were greeted by hostesses dressed in old-time Amana costumes. It is to be hoped that the interest aroused by this trip will result in the establishment of an

"Amana Day" similar to that observed by the Dutch at Pella and Orange City.

Mr. A. C. Hunter of Cranston, Muscatine County, has loaned the Society, for copying, a brief account written by Aristarchus Cone of his first journey to Iowa in 1837, in the company of Richard Lord, and of his experiences in settling a farm in Muscatine County. Mr. Hunter, a descendant of Cone, still lives on the same farm. This document will be published in an early issue of the JOURNAL. State Senator Herman Lord of Muscatine has given the Society an account book kept by his grandfather, Richard Lord, which gives added information to the story of Aristarchus Cone. Other recent acquisitions have been the Civil War diary of Ezra Thompson, loaned to the Society by Curator William Hart; the diary of Henry Mehler of the 6th Iowa, loaned for copying by Harry Mehler of Chicago; diaries and scrapbooks of the Langworthy and Poole families, loaned by Horace Poole; and a diary of Asa S. Baird of the 36th Iowa, loaned by Miss Angeline Berry of Washington, Iowa.

The following new Curators of the Society have been appointed by Governor William S. Beardsley: Georgiana Amsden of Webster City, Ann Lomas of Red Oak, Esther Narey of Spirit Lake, and Wallace Sherlock of Fairfield.

Dr. Kenneth F. Millsap, research assistant of the Society, spoke on "Some Dramatic Episodes in the History of Bentonsport" at the Bentonsport Homecoming on August 19, 1950.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

September 29	Attended Hoover Birthplace Society meeting, West Branch.
October 2	Speech to Wapello P. E. O.
October 5	Speech to faculty and students, Dental College, State University of Iowa.
October 5	Speech, Rotary and Rotary-Anns, Wellman.
October 13	Speech, District Convention, Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs, Sigourney.

The following persons were elected to membership in the Society from June 1 through August 31, 1950:

Ainsworth
C. E. Bassler
Mrs. C. E. Bassler
Robert K. Buck
John Elliott
Max M. White

Algona
Miss Marguerite Skilling

Amana
Mrs. William Leichsenring
John A. Noe
William F. Noe
Peter Stuck

Ames
James F. Brooks
Stephen A. Brooks
Frank W. Kingsbury
Henry Miller
Mrs. Robert J. Sprinkle
Clair B. Watson

Atlantic
Ralph W. Cockshoot

Aurelia
Richard C. Glawe

Bettendorf
W. E. Bettendorf
Mrs. Park W. McManus

Bonaparte
Clarence McCrary

Boone
Verne F. Kingsbury
Miss Helen Stevens

Burlington
Mrs. A. B. George
Mrs. Ed Kaston
G. A. Smith

Camanche
C. A. Depue

Carson
Frank J. Bell

Cedar Falls
Miss Marietta Abell
Mark B. Ford
E. L. Ritter

Cedar Rapids
Mrs. Doris S. Bagley
Miss Gertrude Esther Chapin
Charles M. Daniel
Miss Mariam L. Dieman
Mrs. William O. Gray
Allen Heald
A. L. Killian
James H. McAndrews
Dr. Frank R. Peterson
Harold M. Wright

Centerville
Mrs. Sidney E. Johnston
B. B. O'Brian
Mrs. W. E. West

Chariton
Leo A. Hoegh
Virgil Meyer
Dr. Lazear Throckmorton
Dwight C. Vredenburg

Chelsea
Mrs. William Novak

Clarinda
Mrs. Don D. Drake
Miss Nellie E. Orme

Clear Lake
Herman M. Knudson

Clinton
Mrs. Musse Jensen
Richard Lagomarcino
Jasper W. Morgan
Dr. W. L. Scott
Columbus Junction
Mrs. J. E. Smoke
Conesville
Orono Township School
Conrad
Mrs. Lucile K. Wood
Council Bluffs
Miss Mildred Butler
Miss Margaret Colgan
Edmundson Hospital School of Nursing
Mrs. Dorothy Gordy
Crawfordsville
Clarence E. Fulton
Richard Stephens
Creston
Charles E. Hill
Davenport
Charles Bookidis
Elliott Edelman
Mrs. R. E. Rhoades
Earl E. Stauffer
Arthur Temple
Decorah
J. W. Ylvisaker
Denison
J. W. Miller
Des Moines
John H. Brockway
Mrs. Martha Goodwin Brunk
Hubert J. Burken
Mrs. Frances Ann Cox
Mrs. Alice E. Figg
Miss Faye P. Frazier
Burdette Higgins
Hubert E. James
Lyle A. Lynn
Miss Harriet Macy
Tom K. Murrow
John P. O'Connor
Mrs. Robert B. Patrick
Forrest B. Spaulding
De Witt
De Witt Public Schools
Dubuque
Richard Bissell
Mrs. Abby McDonald Dancer
Mrs. St. Claire Ede
W. W. Moffatt
William H. Trenkle
Dysart
F. H. Schmidt
Eagle Grove
Mrs. Anna H. Ganong
Elkader
Mrs. Marjorie Lenth
George F. Scofield
Elliott
Mrs. Ralph J. Viner
Fairfield
Mrs. Ira Nelson Crow
Fairfield High School Library
Fort Dodge
A. R. Loomis
Fremont
D. L. Akerman
Mrs. Madge H. Fell

Garner
Mrs. E. A. Christensen
Greene
Bruce E. Menken
Hampton
Mrs. Virginia Allinson
S. J. Galvin
Homestead
Louis A. Clemens
Charles Louis Selzer
Humboldt
Mrs. Gertrude Boore
H. S. Stone
Iowa City
Miss Martha Christine Adrian
Mrs. Henry Bootjer
Mrs. Julia S. Brown
Mrs. Marge Browner
William O. Byington
John Leonard Davies
Leo G. Fordice
William T. Hageboeck
Newell E. Jacobson
Dr. William C. Keettel
Lloyd A. Knowler
Henry Kruse
Longfellow School
Norwood C. Louis
Charles Morganstern
Harold W. Saunders
Mrs. Leota M. Stagg
Norvel M. Stagg
Iowa Falls
Mrs. F. J. Kingdon
Kalona
Paul Gingerich
Keokuk
Charles B. Chappell
G. L. Norman
Letts
Mrs. Robert J. Barnes
Mrs. Bertha B. Mitchell
Lime Springs
Miss Jeanette Jones
Macksburg
Mrs. Marie Wood
Manchester
Miss Louise Dunham
Miss R. Lenore Kenyon
Miss Frances L. Matthews
Maquoketa
J. E. Goodenow
Marengo
Robert W. Ask
Marion
C. G. DeWees
Mrs. Arthur R. Lyons
Marshalltown
Mrs. J. T. McCubbin
Mason City
A. C. Frisk
C. D. Herme
M. C. Lawson
Enoch A. Norem
Miss Alice L. Riter
Mrs. Bayard C. Way
Maxwell
Mrs. Minnie B. Holland
Melbourne
H. V. Meier
Moorhead
John E. Neal

Mount Vernon
Miss Alice R. Betts
Dr. Orlo Haight
Mrs. J. M. Macaulay
Jay B. MacGregor

Muscatine
Miss Verda M. Covell
Mrs. Grace Evans Crull
Vernon Shepard
George J. Volger

Newell
J. C. Grau

New London
Mrs. Frank R. Mehler

Newton
Miss Joan Welle

Nodaway
Ivan C. Hill

North English
Mrs. R. L. Evans

Oakland
Mrs. Mary E. Lawson
Mrs. Stella M. Thompson

Osceola
Frank L. Abbott

Oskaloosa
Homer N. Furr

Ottumwa
Joe W. Griffin
O. W. Stoltz

Rowan
Miss Esther Fowler

Shell Rock
Harold Woodley

Solon
Richard K. Adams

Spencer
Mrs. Zepha B. Tolle

Spirit Lake
Mrs. L. W. Ainsworth

Stanhope
Mrs. Percy Neese

Story City
Ron L. Valline

Toledo
C. S. Hayes

Urbana
R. W. Remer

Valeria
Edward J. Morrissey

Van Horne
Van Horne School

Victor
Mrs. C. D. McAninch

Wapello
Ronald M. Cross
Edwin A. Hicklin, Jr.

Washington
Miss Angeline Berry

Waterloo
John W. Coverdale
Mrs. John W. Coverdale
Edgar Warren Hermann
Ervin L. Oehlerts
Mrs. Zatha Weems

Waverly
Mrs. Linda Baker
Waverly High School

Webster City
J. E. Burnstedt

West Des Moines
West Des Moines Independent School District
West Liberty
Robert Brooke
Harold O. Keele
Williamsburg
Bert Hanson
Alabama
Charles M. Thomas, Montgomery
California
Sheldon Knight Chubb, Los Angeles
Tracy Morris, Redlands
Colorado
Miss Chrystal H. Holmes, Denver
Illinois
C. A. Dickerson, Chicago
Dwight P. Green, Chicago
John R. Moran, Jr., Fulton
Knox College Library, Galesburg
Kansas
Dean Sims, Mission
Maryland
J. Robert Waller, Bethesda
Ohio
Ohioana Library Assn., Columbus
William H. Chamberlain, Shaker Heights
Virginia
Mrs. Henry Cofer, Richmond
Wisconsin
Mrs. Henrietta A. Fairall, Milwaukee
French Oceania
James Norman Hall, Papeete, Tahiti
Mexico
Mrs. Eugenie H. Robertson, Monterrey

The following persons were elected as life members:

Bloomfield
Charles W. Fellinger
Burlington
E. O. Newell
Castalia
Elmer E. McMartin
Cedar Falls
Mrs. Harry M. Merrill
Cedar Rapids
Howard B. Helscher
Mrs. Frederick G. Murray
Centerville
Edward L. Shutts
Davenport
Charles J. Crowe
Joseph J. Rohlk
Dr. Paul A. White
Denison
Miss Anna M. Schneller
Iowa City
L. A. Bradley
W. A. Graf
Dr. H. Dabney Kerr
E. T. Peterson
La Porte City
Charles Frederick Rahn

Marengo
Howard F. Kegley
Monona
George F. Heins
Mount Vernon
Mrs. R. P. Ink
Muscatine
L. R. McKee
Ottumwa
L. O. Cheever
K. C. Mowery
Pella
Dr. J. J. Sybenga
Postville
Louis L. Hill
Mrs. H. E. Roberts
Sigourney
Mrs. Herman J. Schipfer
Sioux City
W. R. Perkins, Sr.
Wapello
Mrs. Margaret Jones Hinderman
Washington
C. J. Jungbluth
Miss Helen Wilson
Waterloo
Robert Buckmaster
Frank W. Court
Dr. F. Harold Entz
Jack M. Logan
Waucoma
Ralph W. Adams
Minnesota
Earl Reever, St. Paul
Nebraska
C. T. Young, Omaha
Oregon
A. H. Ellis, Portland
Japan
Melvin P. McGovern, Yokohama

Iowa Historical Activities

The Wyoming Historical Society of Jones County elected the following officers at its annual meeting at Wyoming, September 12, 1950: Mrs. Thomas Brodersen, president; Mrs. Henry Bramer, Miss Elsie Bender, Miss Irene Brownell, and Miss Dora Thomsen, vice-presidents; Mrs. L. M. Koch, corresponding secretary; Mrs. R. L. Orth, recording secretary; and Mrs. Grace Hanna, treasurer.

A popular historical display at the 1950 Iowa State Fair was the reconstruction of a living room of fifty years ago, a project of the Madison County Farm Bureau women. The display was under the direction of Mrs. R. Edward Baur, Erle W. Henderson, Mrs. Donald Beeler, Mrs. Fred Brownell, and Mrs. C. B. Thrift.

Fort Dodge, founded in 1850, celebrated its centennial on August 23, 1950. Governor William S. Beardsley and Admiral Chester F. Nimitz spoke at the evening meeting.

A committee of the Guthrie County Historical Society has been making a study of possible sites for historical markers. The recommendations suggest the marking of the following places in Guthrie County: Panora, the first town in the county; George Worden's "Middle River Station," in Bear Grove Township, a stop on the Newton Stage Road; the site of Fairview, or Morrisburg, a town established in 1855 and destroyed by a tornado in 1871; the Crooks and McEwen sawmill on Upper Bear Creek; Pearson's Mill on the Raccoon, north of Stuart; Dalmanutha, a town founded in 1855 by the Rev. Aaron Coppoc; the Dale City woolen mill, built in 1858 on the Raccoon in Jackson Township; John Cline's woolen mill in Panora; and the Kunkle cottonwood tree in Jackson Township. The members of the committee are: Maurice O. Leonard, Guthrie Center; Wilber Benedict, Casey; and Bert Culver, Panora.

Iowa Day was celebrated in Washington, D. C., on September 3, 1950, as part of the National Capital Sesquicentennial. The program consisted of songs by the Iowa Rural Women's Chorus, made up of some 350 members. The chorus was directed by Max Exner, extension music specialist from Ames; Rodney Selby, director of the Iowa Development Commission, acted as master of ceremonies; the continuity for the songs of the chorus, written by Mrs. Edith Barker, of the extension staff of Iowa State College, was read by Tolbert MacRae of the Iowa State College music department. Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper made the introductory address. Enroute to Washington, the chorus took part in Iowa Day at the Chicago Fair.

The flag of the battleship *Iowa* has been presented to the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines by the Iowa Association of Long Beach. It was formally delivered to Governor William S. Beardsley on August 27 at the Iowa State Fair.

At a meeting of the Ringgold County Historical Society, held during the annual Old Timers Reunion at Mount Ayr, Senator X. T. Prentis was elected president; Guy L. Todd, vice-president; Miss Eva F. Stahl, secretary; and Mrs. Floyd Bliss, treasurer. Guest speaker at the Reunion was Claude R. Cook, curator of the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines.

The centennial of Brooklyn, in Poweshiek County, was celebrated June 25 to July 1, 1950. State Treasurer John Grimes took part in the celebration.

New officers of the Webster County Historical Society were elected August 1, 1950. They are: A. E. Manchester, president; Ed Breen, vice-president; Mrs. Mary S. Kelleher, secretary; Miss Lydia Tuerke, treasurer, and Miss Maude Lauderdale, curator. The Museum of the Society, which is housed in the basement of the Fort Dodge Public Library, contains 1,364 exhibits, and during the nineteen years since its opening, 49,121 persons have visited the displays.

Mrs. Matie L. Baily, historian of the Pocahontas County Historical Society, is preparing a county history of World War II and is requesting war records and pictures of veterans from that county.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

Society and Thought in Early America: A Social and Intellectual History of the American People Through 1865. By Harvey Wish. (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1950. $6.00.) This is the first of a two-volume work dealing with American social and intellectual development. Beginning with "The England of Roger Williams," Dr. Wish discusses the many phases of American development through the colonial, early national, and Civil War years. His second volume, "Society and Thought in Modern America," will be looked forward to with interest.

The Confederate States of America, 1861–1865. By E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1950. $7.00.) One of the major historical projects in regional history is the publication of the 10-volume *History of the South,* under the editorship of Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. This is Volume VII of the series, and, as the title indicates, deals with the South during the Civil War years. Beginning with the secession movement in 1860-1861, Dr. Coulter writes of Southern political, social, and economic conditions, as well as of the military activities of the Confederacy. The closing chapter, "Longings for Peace — and the End," recounts the closing days of the war and assesses the causes of Southern defeat.

The Army Air Forces in World War II. The Pacific: Gaudalcanal to Saipan. August 1942 to July 1944. Edited by Wesley F. Craven and James Lea Cate. (Chicago, Unversity of Chicago Press, 1950. $6.00.) This is Volume IV of the brilliant history of the American Air Forces in World War II. The series will run to seven volumes; volumes I and II have already been published. The books are the work of many historians and are a valuable contribution to military history.

Grassland Historical Studies: Natural Resources Utilization in a Back-Ground of Science and Technology. By James C. Malin. (Printed by the author, 1541 University Drive, Lawrence, Kans., 1950. $2.50.) This is the first of three volumes on the geology and history of the American grass-

lands, and is a continuation of Dr. Malin's brilliant studies: *The Grasslands of North America* (1946), and *Essays on Historiography* (1946). The book is divided into two parts: "Wood and Minerals for Fuel and Building Material," and "Early History of the Town of Kansas (Kansas City, Missouri)." Disclaiming any "thesis to prove, or problem to solve," Dr. Malin points out that in this work he is combining "geology and the expansion of geological knowledge" with an historical study. Kansas City, "the key city of the Central Grasslands," receives the major attention in this volume. The succeeding two books in the series will be published later.

Rainy River Country: A Brief History of the Region Bordering Minnesota and Ontario. By Grace Lee Nute. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1950. $2.00.) From the days of the mound-builders to the present "grasslands, farms, and industrialized cities," Dr. Nute has written a valuable regional study of the borderland area between Minnesota and Ontario. French explorers, fur-traders, farmers, lumbermen, gold-seekers — all have played a part in the development of this region. Illustrations and maps add to the attractiveness and value of this study.

A History of One Hundred Years, 1850–1950: Westminster Presbyterian Church, Dubuque, Iowa, a recently published booklet, was sponsored by a "Committee on History" consisting of P. S. Fawkes, F. W. Page, and W. G. Rozeboom. The history of the church is divided into three parts: "First Presbyterian Church," "Second Presbyterian Church," and "Westminster Presbyterian Church."

The Story of Cedar Rapids. By Janette Stevenson Murray and Frederick Gray Murray. (New York, Stratford House, 1950. $3.00.) Dr. and Mrs. Murray have told the story of Cedar Rapids in some 250 pages of a well-written, illustrated book which will be of interest not only to residents of Cedar Rapids, but to all Iowans. Here is the history of a typical Iowa town, of its people, its institutions, its industries, and its intellectual and social growth.

Articles

"William Jennings Bryan, The Soldier," by J. R. Johnson, is the second of three articles being published in *Nebraska History* to commemorate the

25th anniversary of Bryan's death. This article appears in the June, 1950, issue. The second installment of "Lines West! — The Story of George W. Holdrege," by Thomas M. Davis, also is published in this issue.

The general political corruption of the 1870's is illustrated by an excellent article in the August, 1950, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*: "*Gotterdammerung* in Topeka: The Downfall of Senator Pomeroy," by Albert R. Kitzhaber. The article relates the defeat of S. C. Pomeroy for re-election to the Senate, after the disclosure of his efforts to buy the vote of a member of the Kansas legislature. This case was used by Mark Twain, in *The Gilded Age*, his famous novel on political corruption during the Reconstruction period.

The June, 1950, issue of *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains a variety of articles of interest. In "Local History Awaits the Prospector," Phillips Bradley discusses the opportunities for a better understanding of labor history by the study of labor records in the communities of the Middle West. "The La Follette Progressive Party Campaign of 1924," by James H. Shideler, is a contribution to political history. A preliminary report on the work of the Wisconsin Archaeological Survey is "A Change in the Interpretation of Wisconsin's Prehistory," by Moreau S. Maxwell. The problem of studying the history of American lumbering is discussed by William G. Rector in "Working with Lumber Industry Records."

The great financiers of the latter half of the nineteenth century have become known as "robber barons." In the July, 1950, issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Thomas C. Cochran, in an article entitled "The Legend of the Robber Barons," suggests a reinterpretation and restudy of these men, not as "robbers," but as representatives of a development in our economy and our culture. As entrepreneurs — or business leaders — they were produced by the "culture patterns and social structures" of the times, and they should be studied in that light, rather than in the "historical mythology" that they were "bad" and the public "good." Professor Cochran discusses the career of Henry Villard as an example of a needed re-evaluation.

Ninety years ago, in 1860, the famous Pony Express began its short but

colorful career. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, contributes an article, "The Pony Express — Commemoration, Stables, and Museum," to the July, 1950, issue of the *Missouri Historical Review*. The article describes the commemorative exercises which took place in St. Joseph on April 3, 1950. Among other articles in the issue are: "Birth of Kansas City's Pioneer Church," by the Rev. James J. Schlafly; "Professional, Religious, and Social Aspects of St. Louis Life, 1804–1816," by R. L. Kirkpatrick; and Part II of "The Civil War Letters of Colonel Bazel F. Lazear," edited by Vivian K. McLarty.

Walter O'Meara has contributed an "Adventure in Local History" to the March, 1950, issue of *Minnesota History*. Becoming interested in Daniel Williams Harmon, an early Minnesota fur-trader from Vermont, Mr. O'Meara and his wife uncovered a great deal about the life of Harmon by visiting the several Vermont towns where he had lived. Professional historians could take a leaf from Mr. O'Meara's book. All those interested in local history will find this article both valuable and entertaining.

Dr. Louis C. Jones, director of the New York Historical Association, spoke at the 101st annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. His address, "Folk Culture and the Historical Society," is published in the March, 1950, issue of *Minnesota History*. Dr. Jones feels that, with the growth of visual education, the museum "at last comes into its own"; but he proposes a "museum that is lively, where real people do real things," and not "cases of rusty Civil War weapons or Revolutionary haberdashery." He cites as an example of the best type of museum — the one which not only preserves but brings to life the past — the famous Farmers' Museum at Cooperstown, New York.

Carl Coke Rister's presidential address, "The Oilman's Frontier," which was delivered at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Oklahoma City, is published in the June, 1950, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. An article by Vernon W. Roelofs, "Justice William R. Day and Federal Regulation," also appears in this issue of the *Review*.

Two articles on camp meetings have appeared recently. In the June, 1950, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Charles A. Johnson

discusses "The Frontier Camp Meeting: Contemporary and Historical Appraisals, 1805–1840," and Merrill E. Jarchow has contributed "Red Rock: Frontier Methodist Camp Meeting," to the June, 1950, issue of *Minnesota History*. "Religious revivalism" on the frontier is discussed by Roy M. Robbins in an article, "Crusade in the Wilderness, 1750–1830," in the June, 1950, issue of *Indiana Magazine of History*.

The Summer, 1950, issue of *American Heritage* contains a variety of articles. "The Pennsylvania Rifle" is discussed by Norman Wilkinson; Roy F. Nichols, in "The Birthpangs of American Democracy," writes of the first American representative assembly at Jamestown; and Paul Magriel contributes an article on "Early Days of Pugilism in America." Of particular interest is an illustrated article on "Old Sturbridge Village," a unique "living museum" of eighteenth century New England. This village consists of some thirty buildings which have been brought together from all over the New England states and reconstructed into a colonial village where people live and work as did their ancestors. In Pennsylvania, Pennsbury, the home of William Penn, has been restored, and the restoration is described and illustrated by Donald A. Cadzow. American art is dealt with in two articles: "Artist of the Missouri: George Caleb Bingham," by Albert Christ-Janer, and "Provincial Portraits for Country Cousins," by Nina Fletcher Little.

The Autumn, 1950, issue of *American Heritage* contains three articles on the Mississippi River: "Father of Waters: Four Centuries of the Mississippi," by Bertha L. Heilbron; "Old Man River: Life and Character of the Mississippi," by Charles van Ravenswaay; and "Mississippi Panorama: The Life and Landscape of the Valley as Seen by Contemporary Artists," by Perry T. Rathbone. There are also several articles on Indiana, which is celebrating its territorial sesquicentennial.

Two articles of interest in the September, 1950, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are: "The Immigrant and the American Image in Europe, 1860–1914," by Merle Curti and Kendall Birr; and "The Early Theater on the Northern Plains," by Harold E. and Ernestine B. Briggs.

The "Changing Perspectives in Local History" are discussed by Richard H. Shryock in the July, 1950, issue of *New York History*. Professor Shryock urges that "professional historians should take local history more seri-

ously, should contribute to and be better informed about it, and should provide such guidance to amateur students or writers in this field as their specialized training may make possible."

John T. Flanagan writes of "Thirty Years of Minnesota Fiction," in the September, 1950, issue of *Minnesota History*. He has also compiled a bibliography of "Some Minnesota Novels, 1920–50," which appears in the same issue.

Iowa

The July, 1950, issue of *Annals of Iowa* contains several articles on Thomas Drummond, 1832–1865, editor of the Vinton *Eagle*, state representative and senator, and captain of the Fifth United States Cavalry. These articles, one of the "Eminent Iowans Series," are introduced by Emory H. English, editor associate of the *Annals*. Other articles of interest in this issue are: "Iowa's 'Little Switzerland,'" by James D. Allen; "Tales of the Cherokees in Iowa," by O. J. Pruitt, and "Thrills and Perils of Country Banking," by E. A. Johnson.

The June 11, 1950, Dubuque *Telegraph-Herald* contains a short history of the Fayette County Lutheran Church, located north of West Union, which is commemorating its centennial.

Waterville, in Allamakee County, was founded in 1850 by Riley Ellis. Like so many towns in Iowa, the origin of Waterville was the gristmill built by Ellis. The story of the founding of the town is told in the August 8, 1950, issue of the Waukon *Republican Standard*. The centennial was observed by a two-day program, August 11 and 12.

Dr. Lucy B. Hobbs, the first woman dental graduate, had an office in McGregor from 1862 to 1865. Lena D. Myers writes the story of the "woman who pulls teeth" in the August 17, 1950, issue of the McGregor *Times*.

The village of Fertile, in Worth County, was founded on August 6, 1856, by William Rhoades of New Rochelle, Illinois. In the August 24, 1950, Northwood *Anchor*, S. L. Sanderson of Hanlontown tells the story of the coming of this first pioneer and of other events in the early history of the town.

Maxwell, in Story County, is 69 years old. The history of the town was published in the August 10, 1950, issue of the Maxwell *Tribune*.

The early history of Cascade is told by J. H. Devaney, Sr., in the August 10, 1950, Cascade *Pioneer*.

Polk City, in Polk County, will celebrate its centennial during 1950. The town was founded in 1850 by George Beebe. A short history of Polk City was published in the June 15, 1950, issue of the Madrid *Register-News*.

One of the few remaining covered bridges in Iowa is located on the North Skunk River on a side road two miles south of Delta in Keokuk County. A picture of the bridge, which is still in use, appeared in the July 3, 1950, issue of the Oskaloosa *Herald*.

A short history of the town of Hazleton, in Buchanan County, was contributed to the August 31, 1950, issue of the Oelwein *Register*, by Ernie Eschbach. Many descendants of the first settlers still live in Hazleton.

Readers of "Letters of John Larrabee, 1849," in the July, 1949, issue of the JOURNAL, will remember Larrabee's description of his visit to the site of an Indian Mission school established by the government in Allamakee County — a school which failed because the Indians were not interested. The site of this mission is now a part of the farm of Mrs. Michael Walsh and her son, Charles, and their property is still known as the "Mission Farm." The story of this farm is told in the August 17, 1950, issue of the Waukon *Democrat*.

Eighty-four years ago, on April 6, 1866, the Jefferson *Era* began publication. This paper was the predecessor of the present Jefferson *Bee*. Recently, a Los Angeles book dealer discovered files of the first three volumes of the *Era* in San Francisco. A former Jefferson resident, C. C. Dillavou of Los Angeles, purchased the volumes and sent them to the office of the Jefferson *Bee*, where they are now available for use. A story of this historical "find" appears in the August 15, 1950, issue of the Jefferson *Bee*.

CONTRIBUTORS

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